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THE

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A QUARTERLY JOURNAL

OF

MISSIONARY THOUGHT AND EFFORT.

Vol. II.—APRIL, 1875.—No. 8.

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(It *has been found unavoidably necessary to omit from the present number the usual Editorial articles entitled* Notes and Intelligence, *and* Book Notices.)

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Wanted—Copies of the Second Number of the *Indian Evangelical Review* (for October, 1873) are required; persons having that Number, and willing to dispose of it, are requested to communicate with the Editor.

Correspondence relating to the *Indian Evangelical Review* should be addressed to

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The *Editorial Articles contained in the Second Volume of the* Indian Evangelical Review *have been furnished by the following authors:*—Rev. James Ross *of Calcutta,* Rev. T. S. Wynkoop *of Allahabad,* Rev. S. Mateer *of Trevandrum,* Rev. G. Milne Rae *of Madras, and by the Editor.*

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ERRATA.

Page 262 *note* 1, *for* Shaṭṭa, *read* Ghaṭṭa.

„ „ „ 1, „ kad or gad „ kaḍ or gaḍ.

„ 266 *line* 1, „ Shambha „ Skambha.

„ 267 „ 6, „ one „ none.

„ 268 *note, lines* 21 *and* 25, *for* sacrifice, *read* sacrificer.

„ 270 *line* 1, *for* anographical, *read* éthnographical.

„ 275 *note, line* 15, *for* Kamasa „ Kamsa.

„ 276 „ „ 15 *and* 16, *for* and Asvins, *read* oh Asvins.

„ 278 „ 3, *for* Svatadvipa *read* Svetadvipa.

„ 279 *line* 11 „ Hitrasas „ Itihasas.

„ 280 „ 21 „ devaita „ dvaita.

„ 440 „ 12 „ Um-Queer „ Umgheir

THE

INDIAN EVANGELICAL REVIEW.

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APRIL, 1875.

Art. I.—THE BHAGAVAD GÍTÁ.

By Rev. James Kennedy, M. A., Ranee Khet.

IT is true to an axiom that the way to the heart is through a knowledge of the character and the life. It is only by understanding the Hindus we can have that sympathy with them, which all the world over has so powerful, and, at the same time, so gentle and winning an influence. It is only by understanding them we can have any success in placing ourselves on their standing ground, and in thus ascertaining the modes by which we can most fittingly ply them with the truth of God, so that it may reach at once their comprehension and their heart. The perception on their part that they are in a measure understood powerfully tends to secure for us their confidence and respect.

Most valuable though a knowledge of the people be, we must acknowledge it is a rare acquisition, and to the desirable extent it is well-nigh beyond our power of attainment. The difficulties in our way are so formidable, that at best they can be only partially surmounted. In addition to the extremely different views with which they and we have been imbued from our earliest days, the different habits we have formed, the different courses we have pursued, and the different customs we have followed, we are met by a social barrier, which shuts us out from the family circle, and allows us no opportunity for seeing the people in those circumstances where character is most fully revealed. Even when in the intercourse of life we seem to know individuals well, and are looking each other in the face, we feel that a vast distance separates them from us. While near in person, so different have we every reason to suppose are the grooves in which their minds and ours work, so different are the subjects which engage their thoughts and

ours, and so different are the aspects in which these are regarded, that we feel as if we were wide as the poles asunder. If on this account we may well despair of knowing the people as we wish to know them, so serviceable is even a limited degree of knowledge, that we should sedulously use every means within our reach for its attainment.

Among the means for knowing the Hindus, a prominent place should be given to the books, which are held by them in the highest esteem, are most reverently read, and have consequently a powerful influence in moulding their character. Such books have their direct influence on a comparatively small class, but from them the influence goes forth over a vast number, comprising within it multitudes, who are so illiterate that they cannot read a word.

Among these books a high place may be assigned to the Bhagavad Gítá, the Divine Poem, the Poem in honor of the Supreme Being, the glorious, the adorable One. No one has conversed with Hindus of any intelligence without perceiving the profound reverence in which it is held. It is frequently called the Gítá, the Poem, as we desiguate in Scriptures the Bible, the Book. By this name it will be commonly called in this article. Quotations from it are often made, and even a sentence, a clause, is regarded as so authoritative that it ought to decide the point under discussion. In remote villages and out-of-the way hamlets we have seen manuscript copies, strongly though not finely bound, wrapt up in cloth, which has been carefully taken off, as if it covered a most delicate and precious thing. The book thus produced and opened has had almost always the dingy look, which indicates its having been much used, and which also, no doubt, tells of the smoky humble dwelling in which it has been kept. Passages from it have been chanted, and their meaning interpreted, to the admiration of the surrounding villagers. If we may judge from our limited observation, we would say the book is a special favorite with those bankers and traders who are bent on gain, and are at the same time desirous to secure religious merit. It is not unfrequent for these persons to engage visits from pandits, who explain and enforce its lessons. Some time ago I asked a merchant, who had been in a mission school, and knew English fairly, what his Bible was; and he at once answered, "The Gítá." He said a pandit visited him in his times of leisure, and so explained the Divine book to him, that his heart was full of joy, and he knew this to be the true religion. It has been translated from the Sanscrit into the Hindi, the Bengali, and we believe into others of the Indian vernacular languages.

Not only has the Gítá been successful in obtaining a lodgment for itself in the Hindu mind, but it has received an unusual measure of attention from those who are outside the Hindu pale. Several Sanscrit scholars have deemed it worthy of translation and annotation. One translation into English was

made in the last century, and another in this. Two translations have appeared in French, one from the English translation, and another from the original Sanscrit. It has also been translated into German, Latin and Greek. The translation by Mr. J. Cockburn Thomson, published in 1855, is peculiarly valuable to the student of the book, on account of its introduction, its numerous notes, its use of previous translations, and the constant effort shown throughout to grasp the exact idea of the Poet.

A book so esteemed by the Hindus cannot but tell powerfully on their character, and its study may be very helpful to us in understanding those whose minds are steeped in its lessons.

The object of this article is to state the teachings of this Poem, so far as we have been able to comprehend it, to ponder their agreement or disagreement with the facts of God's government and of our moral nature, to consider their tendencies, and to mark their relation to the teachings of that Book, which, as Christians, we believe has been given to us by the inspiration of God's Spirit. That we may fulfil our purpose within due limits, it is indispensable to press into brief paragraphs several subjects connected with the Poem, which, in order to their full explanation, would require extended statement.

The author of this Poem is unknown. Though his name be unknown, almost every page makes it evident he was a Brahman, a learned pandit, thoroughly imbued with the essential principles of Hinduism, and bent on upholding them.

The time of the composition of the Poem is unknown, as well as the name of the author. From various considerations it is evident it belongs to a comparatively recent period. Sanscrit scholars are, we believe, agreed that its style is that of the golden age of Sanscrit literature, the age of its great poets and dramatists, the era of Kálidás and Víkrámáditya. It is founded on philosophic views, which arose long after the Vedic age, and asserts these views in a way which shows they had taken firm root in the minds of the people. It was written at a period when the worship of Krishna, as the Supreme Being, had reached its height. Krishna is represented throughout as the One to whom devotion is due. This all-pervading characteristic of the Gítá proves beyond doubt its recent origin, as it is certain this worship was utterly foreign to Hinduism in its most ancient forms. No nearer approximation to the date has been made than from 100 B. C. to 300 A. D.

The object of the Poem is very apparent. It earnestly teaches that persons may keep their place in society, perform the duties of their respective castes, and demean themselves as good members of the community, while striving to obtain the only end worthy of a wise man's striving—liberation from the misery of births, and absorption into the Supreme. The Gítá does not indeed condemn a retirement into the wilderness to give one-self over to a life of con-

templation, but it declares such a course to be unnecessary, and affirms it to be in many cases inexpedient. It would seem that when the Gítá was written, the Yoga Philosophy, the Philosophy of devotion, with a view to union with the Supreme, had obtained a power over the community, which thoughtful men saw to be hurtful and indeed perilous. It would appear that many had for the purpose of devotion forsaken their families, friends, and business. Thus society was impoverished and weakened by the withdrawal of useful members. The bonds of caste were released, because the religious, to whatever caste they belonged, were supposed to be invested with peculiar sanctity, and all who remained in secular life, even Brahmans of the highest birth, and of the greatest reputation, were cast into the shade. Let only the evil go on, and the fields would remain uncultivated, the roads would be unfrequented, the business of life would come to a stand-still, and society would be wrecked. If only persons were to remain in their proper position, do their assigned work, and at the same time give themselves to devotion by guiding aright their hearts and minds, to use an expression of our day, "the best of both worlds," (the best of this world being, according to the Gítá, the tranquillity of perfect indifference) would be secured, and in due season liberation would be achieved.

The way in which this compatibility between a secular and devotional life is taught will be best seen, when we come to consider the teachings of the Poem. All we can here say is that the Gítá professes to be a conversation between Krishna and Arjuna at the commencement of the great battle between the kinsmen, the Kurus and the Pandaas, on the plains of Upper India, for the throne of Hastinapur, commonly supposed to be near the site of the modern Delhi, where all the Aryan tribes of the land were ranged under one or other banner. Every one who knows any thing of the Hindus is aware that this battle forms the subject of the great poem, the Mahábhárat, which stands as high with them, as the Iliad did with the Greeks. The echoes of the fight are still resounding throughout this great continent, and are like a war trumpet to many a heart. The Gítá opens with the two armies set in array against each other. By the blowing of the conch-shell the war defiance is sounded on the Kuru side. Arjuna is seen in his war chariot, with Krishna for his charioteer. As he looks at the opposing host, among whom his own kinsmen are most conspicuous, he is filled with horror at the thought of the slaughter, which is immediately to take place, the wives who will be made widows, the children orphans, and the consequent misery and confusion into which all classes will be thrown. His heart fails, his limbs tremble, his hair stands on end, his bow falls from his hand, and he is thoroughly unnerved. Krishna reassures him by his Divine Philosophy, shows him that as a Kshatriya it is his duty to fight, instructs him that the consequences will be by no means so disastrous as he supposes

and thus Arjuna is prepared and strengthened for the combat. The interlocutors are Krishna and Arjuna, and the conversation is reported by Sanjaya, who, as is fit, keeps himself in the back ground. The opening of the poem is thus seen to take a highly dramatic form, but when we think of a lengthened colloquy, carried on largely in circumstances which demand intense and immediate action, if we find dramatic unity, we cannot say we find dramatic progress.

As the Gítá professes to relate what occurred at the commencement of the great battle, it is sometimes printed with the Mahábhárat, as if it formed a part of that epic; but the evidence is most conclusive that it was written centuries afterwards. Whatever may be said about the Iliad and Odyssey, it is certain that unity of authorship cannot be claimed for all included in the enormous work styled the Mahábhárat.

The book consists of eighteen chapters, which are divisible into three parts, and may be thus briefly described :—" The first part " treats of the doctrines of the Yoga system with reference to its " practice and results. The second part treats of Theology, the nature " and attributes of the Supreme Spirit and his relation to the uni- " verse and mankind. The last is purely philosophical, theoretical and " speculative, with the exception of the last chapter,"[1] which is chiefly taken up with a summary of the doctrines taught throughout.

We have remarked the great popularity of this book among the people of this land. Various reasons may be assigned for the high place it has obtained. To many the doctrine must be very welcome that they may remain in society, and discharge all its duties, while pursuing as straight a road to liberation, as if they had become Yogis (devotees) in the wilderness. Throughout the poem the peculiar tenets and institutions of Hinduism are vigorously upheld. It abounds with allusions to those legends in which the people delight. It stamps with its approbation their cherished superstitions. It professes to open up the most hidden secrets of the universe to those who are wise enough to discern them. It prescribes those good deeds, to which the people suppose high merit is attached. It has often a spiritual and unearthly tone, which has no doubt made it welcome to many a weary soul, that has not known whence its burden has come, and is thankful to meet even a recognition of it. It has every now and then a fervid tone, and thus comes with a gust of pleasure to those who like the gratification of their emotional nature. A religion which has nothing for the heart is certainly not a religion for man. We once asked a very intelligent and highly educated convert from Hinduism to Christianity if he had felt at all towards Vishnu, especially as he comes forth in the incarnation of Krishna, as he now felt towards Christ. He replied that while he now saw an immeasur-

[1] Thomson's *Bhágawad-Gíta*, p. 50.

able distance between them, and had obtained from Christ what he never got or looked for from Krishna, yet that such was the hold Krishna had of his heart, he delighted to contemplate his deeds. The moving melting words in which Arjuna expresses his reverence and love for Krishna, as recorded in the eleventh chapter, have no doubt had a strong influence on many a mind.

The form in which the author of the Gítá communicates his lessons would be, we might suppose, repulsive to ordinary persons. Some philosophical poems in the western world have obtained a high place in the esteem of the cultured few, but they have never been favorites with the multitude. The Gítá is intensely philosophical in its form. It is based throughout on the Sánkhya Philosophy, attributed to Kapila, in which Prakriti—Nature—is all-prominent, as that system was modified by Patanjalí, through the introduction of the notion of a Supreme Being. To master the transcendental notions and the refined distinctions of the work is a harder task for a western mind, than to follow the most acute of our western mental philosophers through their most recondite trains of thought. The liking of the Hindu mind for metaphysics is strikingly shown by the phenomenon of a book, thrown into so philosophical a mould, having secured so high a place in the popular regard. If the book had not, however, the other features, to which we have referred, fond though the Hindus be of philosophy, we may well suppose the Gítá would have long ago been thrown into the great lumber-room of Sanscrit literature, there to remain covered with the dust of ages and left undisturbed, except when alighted on now and then by some explorer of that repertory of overworked brains. The leading doctrines of the book are very intelligible, and throughout this article our aim will be to show what they are, but for us to attempt to follow the philosophy taught in all its windings, would be to divert ourselves from the object we have set before us, and most probably to bewilder our readers and ourselves.

We proceed to state the doctrines of the Gítá.

I. The poem is based on the Pantheistic theory that God and the universe are one. This is asserted in the most express and decisive terms in many passages, and when not expressed, it is continually implied. Page after page might be filled with quotations to this effect. A few sentences must suffice : " I am the Saviour " in waters, O son of Kunti ! and the luminous principle in the moon " and sun, the mystic syllable *Om* ! in all the Vedas. * * I am the " eternal seed of all things which exist. I am the power of the strong " in action, which is free from desire and passion. I am the lust in " all beings, which is prevented by no law." Chapter 7.—" I am the " immolation. I am the whole sacrificial rite. I am the libation " offered to ancestors. I am the drug. I am the incantation. * * I am " the fire. I am the incense." Chapter 9.—" I am the beginning, and

" the middle, and also the end of existing things. Among the Adit-
" yas, I am Vishnu. Among luminous bodies, I am the beaming sun. * *
" Among the Rudras (the demons), I am Shankara." Chapter 10. In Chapter 11 Arjuna addresses Krishna,—" Air, Yama, fire, the moon * *
" art thou. Hail to thee from all sides! Thou All! Of infinite power
" and immense might, thou comprehendest all; therefore thou art All."

There must be something in this identification of the universe with God, very attractive to speculative minds, as it arose in Greece with the rise of philosophy, and for ages maintained its hold of the most thoughtful persons. In India it made its appearance at a very early period, it saturates Sanscrit literature, and dominates the learned and unlearned to the present hour. In Europe, though seldom in such undisguised forms as those in which it has declared itself in India, it has had many adherents. When men keep out of view the essential distinction between right and wrong, which has been impressed on the human mind, and which testifies to the existence of a righteous God; when they suppress their moral nature and sense of responsibility; when they pay no heed to the moral government of the world, and the deference to it, which men in their social relations are compelled to render; when, on the other hand, they look at the mighty forces continually working in them and around them, over which they have no control, and which they most imperfectly understand, and when they survey the order and magnificence of the universe, we need not wonder they yield themselves to the fascination of the pantheistic theory. We firmly believe it to be false, because it ignores the most certain facts of our moral nature, and we as firmly believe it to be pernicious, so far as it is allowed to work out its legitimate results. Most happily both in man's nature, and in the circumstances in which he is placed, there is much to oppose its influence even in those who have fully adopted it, but its tendency to efface the distinction between right and wrong, and to deaden and even destroy the sense of personal responsibility, seems to us so evident, that it cannot with any show of reason be gainsaid. So far as man's moral nature is cultivated, the identity of the universe with God is strongly denied, but when the voice of conscience is disregarded, and the speculative reason is allowed to pursue its way unchecked, the doctrine is readily maintained.

The entire absence of pantheistic notions from the Bible, composed though it has been by so many different writers widely separated from each other in time, circumstances, and culture, is a striking proof of its superhuman origin. Elsewhere, minds exercised regarding the origin and nature of the universe, have ever inclined towards the pantheistic belief, but here, among so many successive writers treating of God and his relation to the world, no such leaning is found. How can this be accounted for, but by tracing to a higher inspiration than that of man the writings which compose our Scriptures?

II. While, according to the Bhagavad Gítá, God and the universe are one, there is a diversity so marked that we cannot but be continually cognizant of it. How is this diversity to be accounted for?

The Vedantic Philosophy is ready with a simple and thorough, if not a satisfactory, solution. It is all Máyá—illusion. There seems to be diversity, but there is none. The rope is mistaken for the serpent, and the glancing of the sun on the water for the sun. The dream of the night is mistaken for the reality of the day. Let us only awake from the dream, and the universe, with its apparent variety, will cease to exist. Some passages in the Gítá, where the evils of ignorance and misapprehension are insisted on, might be interpreted in a Vedantic sense, but this is not the ordinary strain of the poem, for the universe is continually spoken of as a reality, not a dream.

How is the diversity to be accounted for? The answer given is that the universe is God developed. A word is used, which is sometimes translated *create*, but its proper meaning is *emit*, *emanate*. It is allowed that there is a great diversity. Not only within the cognizance of our senses are there innumerable objects, animate and inanimate, intelligent and unintelligent, but there are other worlds, heavens and hells, in which are many orders of beings, with gods and demons at their respective heads. All these are emanations from God, and are comprehended in Him. He is the material and efficient cause of the universe. *Ex nihilo nihil fit* is held as an axiom. In the Supreme Being there is a material essence (*adhibhúta*) from which comes every thing in which matter is found. From His spiritual essence (*adhiátma*) have gone forth all the souls which exist. The Supreme is at once the Creator (rather the Emanator) and Preserver, the Destroyer and Reproducer of the universe. In Him all existence is comprehended.

The passages illustrative of these statements are so numerous that, as in the case of the alleged identity of the universe and God, selection is difficult. "I am the cause of the production and dissolution of the whole universe." Chapter 7.—"The object of spiritual knowledge is called the Supreme Being without beginning, neither the existent nor non-existent. It possesses hands and feet in all directions; eyes, heads, and faces in all directions; having ears in all directions, he exists in the world, comprehending all things; * * free from (the influence of the three) qualities, yet possessing every quality; existing both apart from and within existing things, both inanimate and also animate." Chapter 13.—"The lord of all things dwells in the region of the heart, Arjuna! and by means of his magic, causes all things to whirl round, mounted, as it were, on a circular engine." Chapter 18.—In connection with these statements one beautiful figure is employed. "On me is all the universe suspended as numbers of pearls on a string." Chapter 7.

The doctrine of God's all-pervading and all-sustaining energy is most consonant to reason, most favorable to piety, and is frequently asserted in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments. "God spake, and it was done. He commanded, and it stood fast." "The earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof the world and they "that dwell therein." "His kingdom ruleth over all." "Of Him, and "through Him, and to Him are all things." All things will be made subject to the Son "that God may be all in all." Some of the passages quoted from the Gítá might be interpreted as bearing a meaning closely allied to that of the passages quoted from our Scriptures, though even then they are seen continually to transgress the bounds of the sobriety, so conspicuous in the Bible; but when they are found in close contact with the most pronounced pantheistic sentiments, and are tried by the general drift and purport of the Poem, we are unable to bind them down to a meaning compatible with the essential difference between the Creator and the creature.

III. There is not only diversity. There is around us evil in many forms. This obvious and certain fact is continually acknowledged in the Gítá. We meet with frequent mention of ignorance, folly, wickedness, pain and misery. Whence have these come? If the universe be a direct emanation from God, and be so comprehended in Him, that He may be said to be the All, what explanation of these evils can be given?

There comes in the doctrine of the three qualities, (fetters) *Sattwas*, *Rajas*, and *Tamas*—Truth, Passion, and Darkness, which holds so prominent a place in the creed of the Hindu pandits and people. These qualities directly proceed from God. Passion, or Energy, and Darkness, or Solidity, are as traceable to Him as Truth or Goodness. They are impressed on all existing things, generally in combination, but with one or other predominant. In reference to these qualities man is supposed to have an individuality and voluntary agency, denied to inaminate and unintelligent creatures. Otherwise why throughout the Poem should Arjuna be instructed as to his duty, and pressed to perform it? Man is as it were launched out with these qualities, and left to work his way with them as he best can. Let him only use them aright, or still better effect his escape from them altogether, and great good will be attained. Let him remain under their power, and great evil will be endured. While thus left to the making of himself, man is told of no Father to whom he can look up, and of no grace on which he can depend, in order to his struggling successfully to the goal. "The institution of the four "castes was created by me, according to the distribution of the natu- "ral qualities and actions. * * My actions do not follow me, nor have "I any interest in the fruit of my actions. He who comprehends "me to be thus is not bound by the bonds of actions." Chapter 4. "Know that all dispositions, whether good, bad, or indifferent, pro-

"ceed also from me. * * All this universe being deluded by these "three kinds of dispositions, composed of the three qualities, does "not recognize me the imperishable, who am superior to them." Chapter 7. "There is no nature on earth, or again among the gods in heaven, which is free from these three qualities, which are born of nature. * * * Every one who is satisfied with his own office and does its work, attains perfection." Chapter 18.

From these statements it will be seen that God is represented as the author of sin, in as express terms as can be employed. Even when man is represented as a voluntary and moral agent, he is set to the work of uprooting from his heart what the Supreme Being has directly implanted there. In those who really accept this teaching, how can there be any reverence and love for God, as the All-righteous, All-wise and All-loving One?

Very different is the teaching of the Bible. It does not solve the mystery of the entrance of sin into the universe. That is a mystery far too deep for us to fathom, at least in our present state. The terrible fact of the existence of sin is continually recognized. Regarding its entrance the statement is explicit, but very brief and simple. Man was made righteous. He was constituted a free agent capable of choosing good or evil. He rejected the good. He chose the evil. Our first parents became unrighteous, and the whole of the human race have fallen under the dominion of sin. Hence our wickedness, guilt and woe. By this teaching the difficulty is not removed, but it is put where God's righteousness and man's free agency are best conceived. The denial of a fall from a state of original righteousness, as implicitly taught in the Gítá and other writings of the pandits, unlooses the soul from the moorings by which it is bound to the All-righteous One, and casts it out without a compass and rudder into a wide stormy ocean, from which no harbor of refuge can be discerned. Above all, we have in the Bible the doctrine of restoration, teaching us how guilt can be cancelled, and the heart can be renewed, to which in the Gítá no counterpart is found.

IV. Bound as men are by the three qualities, what ought to be the object of their desire and pursuit? The aim of the wise man is liberation, deliverance from action in every form, for action at the best is imperfection; in other words, deliverance from conscious existence, and absorption into the Supreme. The doctrine is summed up in the words "when a person by means of devotion has "learned to know me truly, he enters me without any intermediate "condition," that is without passing through the misery of successive births. Chapter 18.

So far as conscious existence is concered, Liberation is only another term for Annihilation. Strange it is that to any human being this blotting out of himself from existence, this extinction of his wondrous nature, with all its thoughts and emotions, with all its

joys and aspirations, should be an object of earnest desire, longing, and effort! The Poet does not seem to have conceived the possibility of a holy, happy and conscious state, in which God may be constantly adored, loved and served, while individuality is preserved. How superior to such views the averments of the Bible are, no Christian needs to be told. According to the Gítá the evil to be escaped is action. According to the Bible it is sin. According to the Gítá the cessation of conscious separate existence and of the actions necessarily proceeding from it, is the goal towards which we have to run. According to the Bible the goal is entire deliverance from sin, and the conscious consecration of our all to the love and service of the Most High.

V. If liberation ought to be the great object of desire, what are the means by which it can be most readily and surely gained? The special object of the Poem is to furnish an answer to this question. This aim is never lost sight of from the first chapter to the last. In the prosecution of this theme an opportunity is found for the expression of the writer's views on different classes of society, on their character and lives, and on the consequences of the actions they perform.

(1.) Many are immersed in the pursuits to which their nature and position prompt them. One or other of the three qualities impressed on all beings is allowed full sway over the life. Sometimes it is *Tamas.*—Darkness, anger, revenge, and cognate feelings—which obtains the mastery, and such persons are prepared for the abodes of the *Asuras,* the demons. Others give themselves to *Rajas* —Passion, activity—and if this be done in its lowest form, persons are likely to find themselves in their next birth in some obscene creature. Others again are ruled by *Sattwas*—Truth,—goodness, and although the three qualities come equally from the Supreme, yet in a way not explained, the *Sattwas* is the best of the three, and those in whom it is predominant will probably find themselves in their next birth in one or other of the heavens of the gods; they may even rise to the dignity and joys of the gods. Such persons are not to be condemned. In their attention to their religious duties, in their devotion to certain gods, in their offering of sacrifices, in their performance of good deeds, there is much worthy of respect and praise, but if they do not see and pursue the true end of existence, Liberation, they are still treading the lower road, which will conduct them to the miseries of birth after birth.

(2.) It will be thus seen that the doctrine of the Metempsychosis, the transmigration of souls, is maintained throughout the Gítá. For the doctrine no evidence is produced, nor even an argument advanced. How can we accept such a doctrine? It is opposed by that certainty of personal identity which we carry with us through every state of our life, amidst all our physical and mental changes. It obscures the divine justice, as according to it per-

sons are continually suffering for sins, committed in states of which not a trace remains in the memory. It has a most pernicious influence on those who hold it, as it leads them amidst the suffering directly caused by their sins to overlook the character and life they cannot but know, that they may throw the blame on previous stages of their career, of which nothing can be known. Need we say that in the Bible no such doctrine is found? There we are impressively told of the connection between the present and the future, the world in which we now are and the world to which we are going, but it is always supposed that the knowledge of our personal identity will remain undimmed.

(3.) According to the Gítá, the great fault of the mass of mankind is that blinded and "deluded by the three kinds of dis-"positions, composed of the three qualities," they fail to see the Supreme Being, in whom all is comprehended, and thus fail to seek the true end, absorption into Him. They see the diversity of the universe, but they do not see its unity.

(4.) While the Poet often refers to the delusion of men, and the various courses to which that delusion prompts them, he brings all his powers of reason and persuasion to inculcate the only life he deems worthy of the wise. As we have already remarked, he does not expressly condemn the life of the ascetic, who abandons society, and betakes himself to the desert. He agrees so far with the Yogis, that action is an evil, and the more completely we get rid of it the better; but then it is a necessary evil, of which while here we cannot get rid. The bodily functions, such as breathing, the beating of the heart, and digestion, go on continually, by day and by night, whether we be paying attention to them or not. Is not this action? Still more there must be voluntary action on the part of the strictest ascetic. If he live at all, at least till by devotion he obtain supernatural powers, he must eat, it may be uncooked leaves, but he must eat, and if he be alone in the wilderness he must gather the leaves that he may eat them. If then it is certain there must be action on the part even of the ascetic, and if the great object of liberation can be pursued, while there is action, why may not the same great aim be prosecuted amidst the activities of social life? Why should these activities be regarded as an insurmountable obstacle? The Poet clenches his argument with stating the activity of the Supreme. He represents Krishna as saying, "O son of Pritha! I have nothing "which I am obliged to do throughout the three words, nor does there "remain unobtained by me any thing which I might obtain, and yet "I am constantly in action. For if I were not always to continue "indefatigable in activity, these people would perish, if I were not to "do actions." Chapter 3. These words remind us of our Saviour's words, "My Father worketh hitherto, and I work." This fact of man's necessary action, resting as it does on the manifest fact of the Divine activity, our Poet wields with great power against extreme

devotee pretensions. " One can never for a single moment even exist " without doing some action. For every one is forced, even against " his will, to perform an action by the qualities which spring from " nature. He who remains inert, restraining the organs of action, " and pondering with his heart on objects of sense, is called a false " pietist of bewildered souls. * * Do thou perform the actions which " are necessary. Action is better than inactivity. And, if inactive, " thou wilt not even acquire the necessary sustenance for the body." Chapter 3.

The Bible agrees with the Gítá in teaching that in order to the living of the higher life it is unnecessary to retire from the activities of society. The Bible here, however, goes beyond the Gítá, as it not only declares retirement to be unnecessary and inexpedient, but its whole tenor implies that such withdrawal is wrong. God is represented as the author of the relations in which human beings stand to each other, and teaches that the duties arising out of these relations are binding on them by his law. We are continually reminded of these duties, and are plied with the most powerful motives in order to their faithful discharge. It is a striking fact that neither in the Old nor in the New Testament, neither by precept nor example, do we find a single word in favor of asceticism, while we continually meet with much indirect contrariety to it. How is it thus? In every other developed religion, Muhammadanism not being reckoned, as it rests so largely on the Jewish and Christian Scriptures, these ascetic tendencies have appeared, and even among the professed adherents of the Bible, and we may add of the Quran also, they have been powerfully felt. Why should the Bible be so notable an exception? Refuse to acknowledge its superhuman origin, and it will be hard indeed to give a tolerably satisfactory reply.

VI. As then in order to the higher life retirement into the wilderness is not requisite, what is to be done? The Gítá is ready with its lessons for the inquirer. Let us mark the various steps in these lessons, so far as we have been able to follow our guide.

(1.) The Poet strongly inculcates the duty of discharging the offices of one's caste, whatever these may be. He writes only for Hindus. He often names the four great castes, and to them he exclusively speaks. He does not recognize as worthy of attention those who are outside the Hindu pale. He produces no argument in favor of caste. He takes it for granted that it exists, that it is a Divine institution, and that a neglect of its requirements is at once wrong and hurtful. As Krishna is represented with Arjuna a Kshatriya for his pupil, the refrain of almost every chapter is, Arise and fight. What was proper for Arjuna is incumbent on others according to their caste position. "It is better to do one's " own duty, even though it be devoid of excellence, than to perform " another's duty well." Chapter 3. "The offices of Brahmans,

" Kshatriyas, Vaishyas, and Sudras are distributed according to the " qualities which predominate in the dispositions of each." The Poet goes on to describe the duties of these castes, and then says, " He who fulfils the office obligated by his own nature does not " incur sin, one should not reject the duty to which one is born, even " if it be assoeiated with errror, for all (human) undertakings are in- " volved in error, as fire is by smoke." Chapter 18. Caste duty must be performed, however painful to natural feeling. Arjuna is urged to fight against his kinsmen the Kurus, however many of them may be slain. He is told that only a seeming injury ean be done to them. " He who believes that this spirit can kill, and he " who thinks it ean be killed, both of these are wrong in judgment. " It is not born nor dies at any time. It has had no origin, nor will " it ever have an origin. Unborn, changeless, it is not slain, when " the body is killed. * * As a man abandons worn out elothes, and " takes other new ones, so does the soul quit worn out bodies, and " enter other new ones. Weapons cannot eleave it. Fire eannot " burn it, nor ean water wet it, nor can wind dry it." Chapter 2. These latter words are very applicable to the imperishable spirit, but when uttered to make light of the destruction of human life, a terrible necessity even in the most urgent circumstances, they have a most hurtful tendency.

In these views there is in one aspect an approximation to the teaehing of our Scriptures. We are eommanded to do with our might whatsoever our hand findeth to do. Our Saviour prayed for his people not that they might be taken out of the world, but that they might be kept from the evil. We are instructed to abide in the same calling wherein we were ealled. What St. Paul told his brethren in reference to their ehurch relations may well be applied to our social public relations. The eye must do the work of the eye, the ear of the ear, and the foot of the foot. Only confusion results from a person leaving his own sphere for that of another for whieh he has neither call nor fitness. There is certainly one thing in whieh our pandit poet would demur to St. Paul's eounsel. After telling the slave to be subject to his master, he significantly adds, " If thou mayest be made free use it rather." This latter clause the writer of the Gítá would certainly have left out. According to him a person born a slave ought, without a wish to the eontrary, to continue a slave.

(2.) Notwithstanding the seeming approximation we speedily discern a marked divergence. Caste so recognized and honored in the Gítá is in direct antagonism to the teaching of the Bible. According to the caste system there is an essential difference between human beings, while according to the Bible there is an essential unity. The direct tendency of the caste system and its constant effect is to make the higher classes look down on the lower with eontempt, and to make the lower cringe to the higher, thus

engendering pride on the one hand and self-disrespect on the other, and tearing up from the foundations the sentiment on which alone love to man as man can rest. There may be kindly acts performed by members of one caste to those of another, but the feeling that they are essentially different must ever have a strong separating influence. The effect on our Poet may be seen in a passage like this :—" Even those who are born in sin—even women, Vaishyas and " Sudras—take the highest path, if they have recourse to me. How " much more, then, sacred Brahmans and pious Rajarshis"—*i. e.*, those who are half-kings, half saints ; in other words, pious Kshatryas. Chapter 9. In these words speaks the haughty Brahman the contemner of women, and the despiser of the lower castes.

The Bible affirms the common origin of man. In the most varied forms it asserts the brotherhood of the race, inculcates the duties which arise from this brotherhood, and denounces every violation of its claims, either in feeling or action. The Bible indeed recognizes the fact apparent on the face of society that there is a great variety in the condition and character of human beings, but those who look on the gradations of life, such as are common to every civilized country, as analogous to caste distinctions, take a very superficial and incorrect view of the institution.

According to the Gítá one ought to do the work of the position in which he is born, whatever that may be. We have already quoted a passage to this effect. We have seen that after inculcating the duties proper to each caste, our poet lays down the general principle that one ought to perform the duty of his station, even if it be associated with error. If this counsel be good, the children of hereditary robbers ought to continue to rob, and of hereditary thugs to murder. The Bible, on the other hand, teaches that while persons should be contented with their position, and ought not to effect a violent change, if that position requires them to sin it ought to be abandoned at once, whatever may be the cost in suffering. The position in which we are born has no title to be our standard of conduct. In unison with the law written in our consciences God lays down in His word a law, bearing the impress of his essential righteousness, by which we are to test and rule our character and life. To this tribunal we ought continually to bring ourselves ; and to this tribunal we ought to look for the decisions, which are entitled to our unreserved obedience. If that law condemns our position, whatever our fathers may have thought of it, whatever our contemporaries may think of it, it cannot be too soon and entirely abandoned.

(3.) While, according to the Gítá, persons ought to remain in the discharge of the duties of their caste, if they would pursue the true end of existence, they must be very unlike the mass around them. We are now getting into the very heart of the Poem, into those views and sentiments, for the inculcation of which it was

manifestly written. We have come to its doctrine of disinterested devotion, and of the renunciation of the world, which that devotion demands. Some portions of the poem are very abstruse, but here the meaning is clear as day.

The doctrine taught is to this effect :—Perform the duties of your caste. Do not refuse to do any thing it demands from you, whether in the way of social acts or religious services. While thus acting be as if you were not acting. Aim at perfect indifference. Have no love, no hatred, no fear, no hope, no desire, no aversion. While performing good works, conferring charity on the poor, helping the helpless, or sacrificing to the gods, be perfectly disinterested. Have no hope, no desire for reward. Keep the Supreme One ever before your minds, and let your powers be absorbed in devotion to Him.

In illustration of these views we can quote only a few of the many passages which set them forth. "Do thou perform the work "which should be done without interest. For a man who performs "his duty without interest obtains the highest region." Chapter 3. "The self-restrained renouncing all actions with his heart can "without difficulty rest within a city with nine gates, neither acting "himself, nor causing others to act. Those whose thoughts are "on that spirit, whose souls are in it, and intent on it, their sins be-"ing put away by knowledge, attain to that place whence there is no "return. The wise regard a Brahman gifted with knowledge and mo-"desty, a cow, an elephant, and even a dog and a Shwapáka (an abject "outcaste) as the same. Even in this life, those whose heart persists "in equability, surmount the tendencies of their nature. One should "not be overjoyed when one obtains what one loses, nor grieve when "one meets with what one desires not." Chapter 5. "To the "devotee a lump of earth, a stone, and gold are alike. He is of the "same mind to friends, acquaintances, and enemies, to aliens and "relatives, to the good and bad." Chapter 6. Krishna says, "I am "the same to all beings. I have neither foe nor friend. But those "who worship me with devotion, dwell in me, and I also in them." Chapter 9. "He from whom the world receives no emotions, and "who receives no emotions from the world, who is free from the "emotions of joy, envy, and fear, is dear to me. He who neither "rejoices, nor hates, nor grieves, nor loves, who has no interest in "good or bad, and is full of devotion, is dear to me." Chapter 12. In Chapter 13, among the other marks of the true devotee, are named "indifference towards one's children, wife, and household, "constant equanimity both in pleasant and unpleasant circum-"stances, and a distaste for the society of men."

In some of the expressions used in these and many similar passages there is a tone of spirituality and unworldliness, one might say almost worthy of the teaching of our Lord and His Apostles. Every one acquainted with the New Testament knows how impres-

sively they inculcated the love of God, and warned against the love of the world. "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy soul "and might and strength; this is the first and great commandment." "Abide in me, and I in you." "Ye are not of the world even as I am "not of the world." "Be not conformed to the world." "If any "man love the world, the love of the Father is not in him." "The "time is short: it remaineth that both they that have wives be as "though they had none; and they that weep as though they wept "not; and they that rejoice as though they rejoiced not, * * and they "that use this world as not abusing it, for the fashion of this world "passeth away." "Whether ye eat or drink, or whatsoever ye do, do "all to the glory of God." St. Paul gloried in the cross, "whereby "the world was crucified to him and he unto the world." Servants are instructed to do service "as to the Lord and not to men."

(4.) Here again with a seeming agreement there is a marked difference between the Gítá and the Bible. In the Bible we are called on to bear trial cheerfully, and even to rejoice in tribulation, but according to it trial continues to be trial and tribulation to be tribulation. To regard trial as no trial would be to despise the chastening of the Lord. In the Bible continual respect is paid to the primary principles of our nature, as sentient, social, intellectual, emotional and moral creatures. The Gítá, on the other hand, inculcates a stoical indifference to all persons and things, which ruthlessly tramples these principles under foot. Strip a human being of all feeling towards his fellow-creatures, make him perfectly indifferent to joy and sorrow, to pleasure and pain, take away from him all hope and fear, all desire and aversion, and to what a mummy do you reduce him! If renunciation of the world be carried out in this fashion, the wheels of society will soon cease to revolve. If love, desire, hope and fear be extinguished, what motive power is left?

Various are the principles which prompt men to activity, and notwithstanding the prevalence of selfishness, love assuredly continues to have the most potent place. Look at husbands and wives, parents and children, relatives and friends, fellow-citizens and neighbors, in short, human beings in the innumerable ways in which they come in contact with each other, mark their deeds towards each other, and you cannot fail to see the mighty part assigned to benevolence and love. The continued existence of the race depends on deeds which constantly flow from love, but let love be dried up, and these deeds will as certainly come to an end, as a stream will cease to flow when its fountain has ceased to exist. Even if these deeds were performed after love had disappeared, their charm would be gone, and their power over human hearts would be dissolved. Who would care for helpful acts when it was known that they were not inspired by either kindness or love? In one of the passages quoted the devotee is represented as indifferent to wife, children and household, Our Lord tells us we must love Him

above father and mother, above wife and children, and even uses the remarkable words found in Luke xiv. 26, but no one who considers the spirit of His teaching, and is acquainted with the general tenor of the Bible, where we are commanded to love our neighbors as ourselves, and to regard with special affection those who stand to us in the closest relationships, can fail to see the essential difference on this subject between the teaching of the Gítá and of our Scriptures.[1]

Among Christians there has been at different times much discussion about the disinterested love of God. Some lofty minds have contended for a disinterestedness which, we think, is at once opposed to the nature with which God has endowed us, and the lessons he has given us in his Word. Along with supreme love to himself, he has graciously united love to our neighbors, and he has done this in a form which gives sanction to self-love, when it is kept within proper bounds. So far is he from suppressing desire and hope and fear he gives these feelings, though in different degrees, a prominent place in the character of those whom he approves.

VII. If devotion to the Supreme Being be the one worthy occupation of our lives, in what respect are we to regard him? How are we to obtain nearness to him? How can we succeed in getting into his presence, so that we may adore him? The author of the Gítá really, though not formally, answers this question by representing Krishna throughout the Poem as the Supreme. Krishna had the form of a man. He was on this very occasion acting as Arjuna's charioteer. His deeds were as palpable as those of any human being could be, and have been largely recorded in various writings. Yet throughout the Gítá he is represented as the Supreme—the All.

(1.) Our philosopher Poet is not satisfied with the manifestation of the Supreme, which is given in the laws and operations of nature. He is not satisfied with the manifestation of him given in

[1] While writing this article we have had an illustration of the utter repugnancy of this doctrine of indifference to the primary feelings of our nature. A native merchant, taught entirely in the native fashion, with whom we were conversing, quoted a sentence from the Gítá. We said to him, "So you know the Gítá. He replied, "With the help of a pandit I have read it." We rejoined, "Can you say that you are trying to carry out the doctrine of "devotion as taught in the Gítá"? looking as we uttered these words at a bright little boy whom he was caressing; he quickly caught my meaning, and said, "No, no. To practise that doctrine we must turn our back on family "life altogether." Another native merchant who was present acquiesced. Krishna himself felt that Arjuna must be urged on to the battle by something more powerful than the doctrine of devotion. He plied him at first with the most mundane motives. "There is nothing better for a Kshat- "riya than lawful war. Happy are the warriors who undertake such a war as "is spontaneously offered them—an open door to heaven. But if thou wilt not "join in this lawful war, thou abandonest thine own duty and glory, and con- "tractest a crime. And mankind will moreover relate of the imperishable "infamy And to a noble man infamy is worse than death The great warrior "will think thou hast retired from fear, and thou wilt undergo their contempt."

the spirit of man. He craves for something which will come still nearer to his comprehension and heart, and he thinks he finds it in Krishna, the hero of Brij. In this craving he has assuredly not been alone. So general has it been that it may be termed a characteristic of mankind. Many have been the modes in which it has been expressed. Some Christian divines have maintained that if man had not fallen, a manifestation of God in his nature was so indispensable to his spiritual satisfaction and progress, that there is every reason to suppose it would have been granted. On this point we do not express an opinion. We know to a certainty that in connection with the redemptive work our Lord came to accomplish, this manifestation has been given in a way which has exerted, and continues to exert on human hearts an influence of transcendant power and excellence. Here again we feel ourselves close to our pandit Poet, but as we continue to listen to him, we are again forced to realize the fact that a gulf separates our respective views.

(2.) According to the Hindus, God in his proper nature is "Absolute Passive Intelligence," whatever that may mean. He has no personality. He is *Nirgun*—without attributes, at least without any manifested attributes, without consciousness, a vast latent power. Such is the Hindu notion, so far as we can comprehend it. According to this view an incarnation must be very unlike him, whose glory it adumbrates. Here it becomes us to speak with profound reverence. Little, very little, can we know of God's nature; when we speak of it we think and lisp as children, and yet because created in God's image we are capable of having a true though very limited knowledge of him. In the incarnation of Christ we have a manifestation of his righteousness, love, wisdom, and power, which we are assured is in entire accord with his essential and eternal nature, so that those who see him see the Father. There is thus in our Saviour Immanuel, God with us, an accord between the Most High in his essential nature and in his manifestation, which we do not find in the so-called incarnations of the Hindus.

(3.) A still more palpable contrast is seen when we look at the character of Krishna and that of our Saviour. Who is this who speaks in the Gítá in such lofty terms of himself, in whom the universe is comprehended, and who is the universe? Who is this who preaches so impressively the doctrine of the renunciation of the world, of indifference to all beings and all things? Is this the son of Devaki, the foster-son of Yashoda, the lover of the Gopis, the conqueror of Kamsa and the Asuras, the successful combatant of the gods themselves in their own abode at the instance of one of his wives, whose frolics, caprices, and exploits are so largely told in the Bhagavad Purana, the Vishnu Purana, and other writings? Can such a one escape the taunt, Physician, heal thyself? Is this most capricious, impulsive, and, we must add, lustful of creatures the Supreme Being in his human power? This is no doubt the Krishna repre-

sented as Arjuna's charioteer and teacher, though in the Poem no account of his life is given. What a manifestation of the Supreme Being! Here the Christian advocate finds himself on a rock, which cannot be shaken. When he listens to the words of Jesus, when he sees his deeds, when he contemplates his entire character, he adoringly exclaims, My Lord, and my God! When he looks at the character of his Lord, so righteous and so loving, at the object of his coming into the world, the salvation of man from sin and its consequences, at the means employed towards this end, the teaching of God's will and the offering up of himself, and at the success of his mission as shown by his resurrection from the dead, his ascension to his Father's right hand, and the outpouring of his Spirit, he has an intensity of conviction and a fulness of satisfaction, which bring peace and rest into his inmost soul. The assertion of Divine honors for one like Krishna only deepens the thankfulness of the Christian for him, whom as the Incarnate God he can love, revere, and serve with all his heart and mind.

(4.) In the eleventh chapter of the Gítá Krishna is represented as putting on a most glorious form in Arjuna's presence. The description has been called the finest passage in Sanscrit literature, and it is certainly vigorous and glowing. It is by far too long to be quoted. We can find place for only a few sentences. Arjuna addresses Krishna, "I see thee with many arms, stomachs, mouths, and "eyes, everywhere of infinite form. I see thee, a mass of light, "beaming everywhere, hard to look upon, bright as a kindled fire or "the sun, on all sides immeasurable ...... Multitudes of the kings "of the earth hasten to enter thy mouths, formidable with projecting teeth. Some are seen clinging in the interstices between thy "teeth, with their heads ground down. As many torrents of rivers "flow down direct even to the ocean, these heroes of the human race "enter thy flaming mouths. As flies, carried away by a strong impetus, fly into a lighted candle to their own destruction, even multitudes of beings impelled by a strong impetus enter thy mouths "also for destruction." Throughout there is not one word of moral attributes. The reader may compare with this vision of Krishna the manifestation of God to Moses, Exodus xxxiv. 10, to Isaiah vi. 1—9, to Daniel x. 4—10, or the appearance of the risen Saviour to his disciple John. Revelation i. 12 to end. It bears a still closer analogy to the transfiguration of our Lord, Matthew xvii. 1—10. Krishna is represented as putting on this glorious form to insure Arjuna's reverence and trust. Our Lord appeared in his glory to the favored three disciples, we have every reason to believe, in order to the more vivid realization of his greatness and the strengthening of their trust in him. Surely no bias is indicated on our part when we say that there is a marvellous contrast between the few, simple, and yet impressive words in which our Lord's transfiguration is described, and the wild and grotesque representation of Krishna's

appearance to Arjuna, which has indeed a grandeur, but a grandeur that repels the heart and stupefies the mind.

VIII. We have referred to the fervor which characterizes portions of the Gítá. Krishna demands the full love of the devotee. "Dispose thy heart towards me only, to me attach thy thoughts, "without doubt thou wilt dwell within me on high after this life. "But if thou art not able to compose thy thoughts immovably on "me, strive then to reach me by assiduous devotion, O despiser of "wealth. Be intent on the performance of actions for me." Chapter 12. "Thou art very much beloved of me, and therefore I will "tell thee what is good. Place thy affections on me, worship me, "sacrifice to me and reverence me. Thus thou will come to me." Chapter 18. Krishna seems here to forget his own words already quoted, "I am the same to all beings, I have neither friend "nor foe." To these calls Arjuna responds with an ardor, which reminds us of our Samuel Rutherford. After the vision, which we have mentioned, Arjuna addresses Krishna thus, "Hail! hail to "thee! hail to thee a thousand times! And again, yet again, Hail! "hail to thee! * * As I took thee merely for a friend, I beseech thee "without measure to pardon whatever I may, in ignorance of this thy "greatness, have said from negligence or affection * * I implore thee, "saluting thee, and prostrating my body; thee, the Lord, worthy of "praises. Thou shouldst bear with me, O God! as a father with a "son, as a friend with a friend, as a lover with his beloved one." Chapter 11. Thus full scope is found for the whole soul going forth to Krishna as the Supreme, if towards all beside perfect indifference has to be maintained. This fervid devotion seems very different from the still, dreamy, vacant contemplation of the Yogi, assuming postures well adapted to extinguish all thought and emotion. So eclectic, however, is our Philosopher that he has approving words for the anchorite, "who confines his gaze to the "space between his two brows, and equalizes the inspiration "and expiration which passes through the nostrils," "who holds "his body, head and neck, all even and immovable, firmly "seated, regarding (only) the tip of his nose." This surely would not suit the ecstacy of Arjuna. Just think of him, when so deeply moved that his heart panted for words to express his love and reverence, finding it a congruous employment to keep his eye fixed on the tip of his nose!

IX. If the devotee follow the instructions given to him, is he sure of success? There is a startling passage, which seems to say (we cannot conceive what other meaning can be attached to the words) that the devotee may be disappointed by circumstances over which he has no control, and which have nothing to do with character and conduct. In chapter 8 we read, (Krishna is the speaker) "I will tell thee, O Prince of the Bharatas! at what time "devotees dying obtain freedom from or subjection to the necessity

"of return. Fire, day, the increasing moon, six months of the "northern solstice; those who die in this period, and who know the "Supreme spirit, go to the Supreme Spirit. Again, smoke, night, the "waning moon, six months of the southern solstice; a devotee dying "in this period attains only a lunar splendor, and returns. For these two ways of white and black are eternally decreed to the world. By the one a man goes without return, by the other he returns again." Here our Poet seems to descend to the most debasing superstition. The devotee's hope, however, is not lost. It is only deferred, for in one passage it is distinctly asserted that after a day of Brahma (a Kalpa), equal to 4,300,000,000 years of mortals, the entire universe will be absorbed in the Supreme. "At the con-"clusion of a Kalpa, all existing things, O son of Kunti! re-enter "nature, which is cognate with me. But I cause them to come forth "again at the beginning of a Kalpa." Chapter 9.

X. Our last remark in exposition of the teachings of the Gítá is, that they are intended only for those who by character are prepared for them. We have already seen that the Poet recognizes none outside the pale of the four great castes, but even within this pale only a select number are worthy to be his disciples. "Thou "must not reveal this (doctrine) to one who does not practise morti-"fication, nor to one who does not worship at any time, nor to one "who does not care to hear it, nor to one who reviles me." Chapter 18. The Poet is so careful not to cast his pearls before swine, that he has not a word to say to those who are "ignorant and out "of the way." For sinners he has no call to repentance. He leaves them to hold on the downward road. His only work is to confirm and still further enlighten the good and the wise. The contrast which this course suggests is too obvious to need mention.

Our task is done. We have endeavored to state the doctrines of this famous Poem, not in the order followed in it, but in that in which they have presented themselves to us, after a careful perusal of the work. Many are the reflections suggested by the review of the thoughts and sentiments expressed by this philosopher Poet. We can merely in a few sentences indicate the reflections which have come most forcibly to our mind.

The intense religiousness of the human race, of the Hindus in particular, is strikingly illustrated by the Gítá. In it we see the human mind groping after God, if haply he may be found. According to it, he is the goal, towards which men should strive. He is the centre, in which alone men can rest. He is the Supreme, to whom men must be united. His glory overshadows all, and embraces all. Many have been the forms, in which this religiousness has been manifested, and clear is the evidence these forms present, that it is an ineradicable, irrepressible characteristic of human nature. Men may amuse themselves with describing the way to positive and abiding truth which eliminates all thought of God,

through the cloudy regions of theology and metaphysics, but such a theory, however countenanced by the speculative reason working conjointly with imagination, is put out of court by the history of the race, and the manifest tendencies of the human mind.

In the course of this article we have had frequent occasion to mark the association of pernicious error with great and important truth. We have seen truth so overlaid with error, that it has been well nigh smothered by it. If the predominating tenets of the Gítá were carried out to their legitimate conclusion, a holy and righteous God, a moral government, the distinction between right and wrong, human freedom and consequent responsibility, would be excluded from man's belief and life. Are we however giving up too much to charity, and refusing its due to truth, when we express the hope that the measure of good in the Poem has had a beneficial influence on those who have yielded themselves to its teaching? When on Christian ground we hear views expressed, which we think very objectionable, and which logically carried out would lead to deadly error, we are in the habit of saying that in many instances the heart is better than the head, that the character is better than the professed creed. May we not indulge the same hope in reference to those, who have had none of our advantages, and who have inherited what we cannot but deem pernicious error, to which however a measure of truth is attached? If this charity lead us to underrate the value of truth and the evil of error, it deserves to be condemned, but when it springs, as it ought to do, from love to God and man, it must have an opposite effect. In a world like this, where there is so much to depress every right-hearted person, it is not only very pleasant but very strengthening and sustaining to take the brightest possible view of our fellow-creatures.

This hope regarding the Hindus does not rest on a mere charitable supposition. Notwithstanding the Pantheism of the Gítá, which is so accordant with the avowed belief of the people, and notwithstanding its manifestly injurious influence on their character, the Hindus often speak of God as the glorious one, who is entirely distinct from themselves, whom they ought to revere, love and serve. Notwithstanding the doctrine that sin is the direct and necessary effect of the qualities impressed on man as man, the people often speak of sin as utterly wrong, and deserving punishment. Notwithstanding the theoretic denial of human responsibility, it constantly receives a practical acknowledgment. Notwithstanding the doctrine that the future depends on the performance now of some outward rite, or on circumstances over which persons have no control, the belief is often expressed that in the world to come persons will be rewarded or punished according to their deeds. The fact that the human conscience in the most unfavorable circumstances is continually bearing testimony to those first principles

to which God's word appeals, should inspire us with new zeal to diffuse that Gospel, which at once recognizes and meets man's deepest wants.

The Gítá furnishes an illustration of the fact, that among nations most widely separated from each other, and of most dissimilar character, similar controversies are ever ready to spring up. In our day the question has been keenly discussed, Is it possible to act out the Christian belief amidst the exigencies of modern life? On this controversy we would merely remark that our Lord and his Apostles throughout their instructions suppose that a Christian may discharge all his social duties, and be at the same time faithful to his principles. If possible in their days it is surely possible in ours. The writer of the Gítá strives to show that a person may follow out the Hindu doctrine in its highest form of devotion, while he is performing all the duties of his caste—with what success the reader may be left to decide.

The last reflection we mention is, that the Gítá furnishes another illustration, if another be needed, that man needs a Divine Guide to show him the upward path. When left to himself, as in the case of the heathen who knew not the Bible, and at least equally so in the case of those who have the Bible but reject it, how prone, we may rather say, how sure he is to err! When he gets hold of a truth how apt is he to darken and almost destroy it by pernicious error! How much does he need instruction from one, who knows the way thoroughly, and who is ready to lead him with all wisdom and kindness in the way. We have such a Guide, and by refusing his aid we are acting a suicidal part. We cannot do better than conclude with the weighty words of one of the most distinguished men England has produced—words which ought not to lose their value, because they have been often quoted. In answer to the question, which was the best way for a person to attain a true knowledge of the Christian religion, John Locke replied, "Let "him study the Holy Scriptures—especially the New Testament; "therein are contained the words of eternal life. It has God for its "Author, salvation for its end, and truth, without any mixture of "error, for its matter."

PEKING
ORDOS
PECHILE
SHANSE
KOKONOR
TSIANG HAI
SHAN-TUNG
YELLOW SEA
LEAO-TUNG
HONAN
C H I N A
SECHUEN
NGAN-HWU
NANKING
HUPEH
HANKOW
KAM
SU-CHU
KWEI CHOW
HUNAN
KIANG-SE
CHUSAN
FOOCHOW
FUKIEN
FORMOSA
YUNNAN
GUEI LING
KWANGSE
CANTON
SWATOW
KWANGTUNG
HONG KONG
BURMAH
AVA
TONQUIN
G. OF TONQUIN
HAINAN
ANAM
COCHIN CHINA
TURON
RANGOON
SIAM
BANGKOK
CAMBODIA
SAIGON
GULF OF SIAM
LUZON ISL
PHILLIPINE
PALAWAN
CHINA SEA
LIGOR
MALAY PENA
WELLESLEY
PENANG
MALACCA
SINGAPORE
SUMATRA
BORNEO
40
30
20
10
100
110
120

Art. II.—COCHIN-CHINA.[1]

THE territory lying between British Burma and China is usually called Indo-China. The general want of information and lack of interest in this large part of Asia are shown in the position frequently assigned to it in even our best maps; for the Indo-Chinese territories are almost always found at the corner or border of the maps of India or China, as if it were, in the geography of the world, a sort of "No-man's Land," and had a geographical value, chiefly because it served as a boundary to better known countries. Siam is becoming better known, owing to the wise and intelligent government of its present enlightened sovereign; Cambodia is to most English readers almost a *terra incognita*, though, in some respects, it is one of the most interesting countries in the world; while Cochin-China has excited any little interest actually existing with regard to it, chiefly because of the French wars in that country, and because it happens to be the habitat of a famous breed of poultry. In this article we shall endeavor to give some information regarding the last-named country, which may serve to show its importance and promise, as a field of both mercantile and missionary enterprise.

Indo-China has four great natural divisions, which are determined by four ranges of mountains and three large rivers, all of which run almost due north and south. Between the mountains of Arracan and those of Salween, lies the territory of Burma, watered by the Irrawaddy. To the east of Burma lies Siam, watered by the Meinam. Beyond Siam is situated Cambodia and part of Annam, or Cochin-China, forming the great basin of the Mekong or Cambodia river; and between the range of mountains to the east of Cambodia and the China Sea lies Cochin-China. Each of these countries lies between two mountain ranges, having a great river running through its centre, so that the natural and political divisions are all but identical. The whole of the Indo-Chinese territory lies between the 7th and 26th degree of northern latitude, and the 93rd and 109th degree of eastern longitude; Cochin-China lies to the extreme east of the Indo-Chinese territory. It is bounded on the west by the river Mekong, which takes its rise in the mountains of Thibet, beyond the Chinese frontier, and has a course of some 1,800 miles; and on the east by the Gulf of Tonquin, which also bounds

[1] To avoid crowding our pages with numerous foot-notes of reference, we may here mention that the information given in this article has been obtained by personal observation of the writer, and also from the following works:—Crawford's *Journal of an Embassy to Siam and Cochin-China*," 2 vols., 1830; Moor's *Indian Archipelago*, 1840; Thompson's *Malacca, Indo-China, and China*, 1875; the *Revue des deux Mondes* for 1862, 1864, 1866, 1867 and 1868; and *Le Temps* newspaper.

it on the south. Its northern boundary is formed by the Chinese provinces of Kwangtung, Kwangsi, and Yunan. It lies between 8° 25′ and 23° north latitude, and 104° and 109° east longitude. The whole length of Cochin-China from north to south extends to about 900 geographical miles, and its breadth varies between 60 and 180 miles. Its area, in round numbers, may be taken at about 98,000 square miles.

In the basin of the Mekong and its branches the country is flat and covered with a rich alluvial deposit, and in general appearance reminds the traveller of the great plain of Bengal. To the east of the Mekong, however, the country is broken up by mountains, which dip towards the Tonquin Gulf and the China Sea, divided in many places by short river courses and deep valleys. The whole of the eastern coast from Pulo Abi in the south to the Chinese frontier in the north is deeply indented, and the indentations in several places, such as Quinhon, Turan, and Hué form some of the finest natural harbors in the world. The long sea-board facing the China Sea places Cochin-China in a most advantageous position as a maritime country.

The geological formations of the country are chiefly primitive. The principal mountains are composed of granite or syenite, while the lower hills consist of quartz, rock, marble and limestone. Near Saigon, the upper formations are of a reddish ironstone, which gives the roads and bare portions of the country a peculiar fiery color. Workable iron ore is not found, however, in Lower Cochin-China, though it abounds in the more northern region of Tonquin, and in higher or northern Cochin-China. Gold and silver are also found in large quantities in that portion of the country. As far back as 1830, the silver mines of Cachar, the capital of Tonquin, yielded about 213,600 ounces yearly, but a large portion of it is supposed to be smuggled into China. All the mines are worked by Chinese, of whom about thirty thousand were engaged in mining operations in 1830, and the number has doubtless increased in later times. The abundance of tin found in other parts of the Indo-Chinese sea-board—in Tenasserim, Malacca and Penang—gives promise of this mineral being found also in Cochin-China, the geological formation of which is similar to that of those countries.

The common vegetable productions of the East are found in Cochin-China. Maize, cocoanut, the areca palm, the orange, lichi, sugar-cane, pepper, cinnamon, cotton, mulberry, tea, stick-lac, yams, teak-trees, and the betel-nut are all indigenous productions. But in Lower Cochin-China, rice is the staple production of the country, of which enormous quantities are grown, exports of rice forming, indeed, the principal source of wealth among the inhabitants. For want of proper cultivation, however, the important products of rice and silk are both inferior to those grown in neighboring countries. The rice is very inferior to that of Bengal; while the

silk is less valuable than that of China, being shorter in the thread and deprived of its gloss by the clumsy mode of preparation by the Cochin-Chinese. Cochin-China cotton is, however, superior to that of Bengal, often fetching in China more than twenty per cent. above Bengal cotton. Though many parts of the country are well adapted for tea-growing, the cultivation is very inferior, the leaf being large and rank, and of little flavor. The betel-nut grows to maturity, but so slovenly and unenterprising are the people, that though they consume it in large quantities, they prefer to import it from Singapore, rather than have the trouble of cultivating it in their own country, where, in fact, it grows wild.

The zoology of Cochin-China differs but little from other eastern countries. The tiger, leopard, elephant, hog, rhinoceros, horse, deer, ox, and buffalo resemble those of India; but the jackal, fox, hare, ass, and sheep are wanting. Dogs, of the same variety as are found in China, abound in Cochin-China, and are used, as in the former country, for food. The country can boast also of having the finest poultry in the world. The sea and rivers abound in fish, from which a large proportion of the people,. especially those on the coast, derive their only means of subsistence. Large fleets of boats issue from the creeks and bays on the eastern coast, and proceed a few miles to sea to fish, returning in the evening.

We shall now give a short sketch of the history and political divisions of Cochin-China.

It forms part of the Empire of Annam, of which there are several divisions. First, there is Annam proper, lying to the north of Cambodia, and between it and the Chinese frontier. Second, there is the large territory of Tonquin, lying at the head of the gulf of that name in the China Sea. Further south, Cochin-China proper begins, having its divisions of Higher and Lower Cochin-China. There are thus four territories in the Empire of Annam, all of which at one period and another have been at war with each other, and every one of which, even at the present day, preserves a distinct nationality and government under the Empire. The only information we have concerning Annam is in Chinese annals, for there is hardly any literature in the languages of the people themselves. According to Chinese accounts, Annam was conquered and colonized by the Chinese 214 B. C., and the language, literature and laws of China, introduced into the country. China did not long hold possession of Annam, for after many struggles it regained its independence about the middle of the third century, but continued to pay tribute to China. In the thirteenth century the Tartar emperors of China attempted, but ineffectually, to reconquer Annam. About a hundred years later they invaded Tonquin, but after a few years' occupation, they abandoned it, on obtaining a promise to pay tribute. Tonquin, in 1471, conquered

Cochin-China, but a revolution taking place in the former country, the Chinese again interfered, and Tonquin was reduced to the conditions of a Chinese province. In the middle of the sixteenth century, Cochin-China threw off the yoke of Tonquin, and became independent. From this period down to the year 1748, the Cochin-Chinese introduced a form of government, which has existed at several periods in eastern countries, in Siam, Japan, and in the Mahratta Empire, by which there are two sovereigns, one holding nominal and the other real authority. The former was called the *Boua*, the descendant of the ancient kings, and the second the *Choua*, who exercised the real power, and was often a successful usurper on his descendant. From 1748 to 1774 both Tonquin and Cochin-China were in a state of constant anarchy. One of the parties in Cochin-China called in the aid of a Tonquinese army, and by their assistance subdued the Tonquinese. It was at this time that a great revolution, still memorable among the people, and reminding one of our English Jack Cade, took place. Three brothers, called the "Tysons" or "Mountaineers of the West," one of whom was a blacksmith, and the other two cultivators of the soil, exasperated by the extortions of the Government, became robbers, and, amid the anarchy that prevailed, were led at last to raise the standard of rebellion. Being joined by many of the disaffected, they were able to defeat the army of the King of Cochin-China, who surrendered and was slain. His son, with a second army, was also defeated, and beheaded, his wife escaping with their son, Gia-long, who afterwards became Emperor of Annam, including the whole of Tonquin and Cochin-China.

It was in connection with this young prince Gia-long, that the French influence in Cochin-China began to be felt, and which has increased to the present time. When Gia-long and his mother fled before the Tysons, they received a refuge from George Pigneau, Bishop of Adran, a catholic missionary of the Franciscan Order, settled in Cochin-China. It was through the influence of this extraordinary and able man that the French were able to obtain a footing in Cochin-China. For about six years Gia-long was under the care and instruction of Bishop Adran, who completely won his affection and confidence. At length, in 1781, Gia-long made another attempt to regain his kingdom, but was again defeated, and forced to quit Cochin-China. He found a refuge this time in Siam, where he remained for some years. In 1787, Gia-long, despairing of success without foreign aid, gave full powers to Bishop Adran as his minister, and committed his son to his care, with the view of both proceeding to France to claim the protection of the then French monarch, Louis XVI. Both the bishop and the young prince were well received at the court of Versailles, and a treaty, offensive and defensive, was soon entered into. France was to furnish to Cochin-China twenty ships of war, five regiments of

European, and two of Asiatic troops, and to pay a million of dollars. The king of Cochin-China, on the other hand, ceded the peninsula of Han, and the bay of Tevian and adjacent islands, on the eastern coast of the Tonquin Gulf. He engaged also to furnish France with 60,000 men, if attacked in his new territory, and powers to buy 40,000 men, for carrying on war in other parts of the East. Favorable commercial terms were also granted to France. This treaty never came into force, but it is interesting to know that in 1843, when the French were searching for a port in the East that might accommodate and shelter their fleet in time of war, attempts were made to revive this all but forgotten treaty ; and but for the absorbing nature of home politics at the time, and the French Minister, M. Guizot's troubles in connection with the Spanish royal marriages, the French occupation of Cochin-China might have taken place at that early date, instead of a much later time.

While these negotiations were going on in France, the Tysons had made themselves masters of Tonquin, in addition to Cochin-China ; so that the return of Gia-long to his throne seemed further off than ever. That prince, however, did not despair. Bishop Adran had brought out with him a few French officers in 1790, and with the help of these and some English and Irish adventurers, amounting to about 15 in all, he commenced operations in the southern part of Cochin-China, remote from the Tyson seat of Government. He built a fort at Saigon, after a time, constructed arsenals at Quinhone and Gnathung on the eastern sea coast. For twelve years he continued his operations, which were at length crowned with success. Quinhone was taken in 1796 ; Hué, capital of Higher Cochin-China, fell in 1801 ; and Tonquin in 1802. Lower Cochin-China, with its capital of Saigon, had fallen early into the power of Gia-long. In 1809, that monarch still further extended his territories by annexing, partly by force and partly by intrigue, the most valuable portions of Cambodia. At his death, in 1819, the Empire of Annam extended from the Chinese frontier in the north to the sea on both south and east, and bordered on Siam towards the west. But as we shall afterwards find, the Empire was of short duration, so far as the exercise of real powers was concerned.

The influence of Bishop Adran during the reign of Gia-long was very great. He was the chief counsellor and friend of that monarch till 1804, when he died. He possessed the fullest confidence of the Emperor, who built over his remains a splendid mausoleum at Saigon, which still remains. Among the people his memory is still held in highest respect. Some fourteen years after his death, a traveller relates that the people spoke of him with tears in their eyes ; and during his long period of power and influence no act of oppression or injustice could be laid to his charge. His name to this day affords a passport to Frenchmen in all parts of Cochin-

China. Gia-long, while strongly attached to the bishop, seems to have feared French or European attempts to gain a footing in his territory, for his advice to his son on his death-bed was, "Cherish the "French by every means in your power, but never cede a foot of "ground to them or any European power."[1]

The history of Cochin-China from the death of Gia-long possesses but little interest until we reach the year 1858, for it was in that year that the French made their first attempt to establish themselves in the country. The immediate cause or pretext for interference was the persecution to which the French and Roman Catholic missionaries had for a long period been subjected. The Cochin-Chinese had treated these men with great cruelty. The French bishop had been kept a prisoner for four months, and carried about in an iron cage, like a wild beast, among the people. The good influence of Adran had evidently passed away, and the French were thoroughly hated. In the year 1856, M. Montigny, the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, had remonstrated with the Court of Annam regarding the persecutions of the Catholic missionaries, but at that time, owing to the French fleet being engaged on the coast of China, no display of force could be made to support the remonstrance. The Annamite Court fancied from this that the French were but indifferent foes, and the Emperor Tu-Duk, who began to reign in 1847, very summarily dismissed the plenipotentiary who had been sent from France. The insolence of the Mandarins then knew no bounds, and they began to think they had triumphed over a cowardly enemy. "The French bark like dogs, and "flee like goats," was placarded in public by them, as the expression of their contempt. It was not till about the close of 1858, and at the termination of the war in China, that the French were able to detach their fleet for service in Cochin-China. The forts of the Peiho had fallen, and the treaty of Tientsin had been signed, when the French Government, finding their fleet was at liberty for other engagements, resolved on a descent on the coast of China. The Spaniards wished to join them in their expedition, for the Spanish Bishop, M. Diaz, had died, after long imprisonment, in July 1857, and the Spanish Court was as resolved on punishing the Cochin-Chinese as the French. The fleet of the latter power appeared in the bay of Turan, in Higher Cochin-China, on Sept. 31st, 1858. It was found, however, that the nature of the country prevented any effective warlike operations in that quarter, and after a series of fruitless efforts, in which bombardments and incursions seemed to have no effect in making the Annamites disposed to treat, it was resolved to make an attack on the southern part of Cochin-China. Having been considerably reinforced, the French fleet sailed to Cape St. James, at the mouth of the Mekong, and having sailed up the

[1] Moor's *Indian Archipelago*, p. 231.

Donnai, one of its branches, they bombarded Saigon, about 50 miles up that river. Saigon fell on February 17th, 1859, and thus the most important position in Lower Cochin-China was in the hands of the French. The French Admiral Page at once resolved to make good his position by fortifying Saigon and establishing it as a commercial port. His scheme was in great danger of falling through at that time, for the French found themselves with a second Chinese war, and the Italian war, on their hands, at the same time. Turan had been altogether evacuated, and the fleet had left Saigon for China, leaving only a few hundred men to occupy Saigon. A large Annamite army had assembled within a few miles of Saigon, where they threw up forts and prepared themselves for defence or attack. All that the French commandant could do was to wait till the fleet returned from China, and to hold his own. Many desperate conflicts followed, but at length, in July 1860, the fleet, again released from Chinese wars, returned, and in a decisive battle overthrew the Annamite host. In March of 1861, another important town, Mytho, commanding another mouth of the Mekong, fell into the hands of the French. Other important places, Tay-minh, Bien-hoa, and Vinh-long, were in succession occupied, and in March 1862 the French were virtually masters of Lower Cochin-China. Cruel reprisals were among the episodes of these wars. At Bien-hoa, for instance, the Mandarins chained several hundred Christians together, and surrounding them with combustible materials, left them to perish in the flames.

While these operations were going on, an insurrection had taken place in Tonquin. A prince of the imperial family of Annam, early in 1862, asserted his claim to the throne, and succeeded in subduing, four Tonquinese provinces, and made such rapid progress that he threatened the Tonquinese capital of Cachao. Assailed by the French in the south, and by the rebels in the north, Tu-Duk, the Emperor, was compelled to seek negotiations with the French. On the 24th of May 1862, ambassadors from the Annamite imperial capital of Hué appeared at Saigon, and on the 5th of the following June a treaty was signed. By this treaty three of the six provinces of Lower Cochin, Gia-dinh or Saigon, Bien-hoa, and Mytho, were ceded to the French. No portion of Annam was to be ceded to a foreign power without the consent of the French. 20,000,000f. were to be paid as an indemnity within ten years; and the citadel of Vinh-long was to be occupied by the French until the terms of the treaty were fulfilled. But the French were not allowed to hold their possessions in quietness. Numerous bands of robbers overran the country; and often the Annamites formed themselves into considerable armies, and attacked the French with great suddenness and vigor in their various positions. Villages were set on fire, and everything done to annoy the French. The Annamite Court disavowed all connection with these attacks, but the French believe

that the insurgents were secretly encouraged by the Annamite authorities.

After this period the French set themselves to develop the trade of Cochin-China, and to establish commercial relations with Saigon and their own country. They had but little interruption in this peaceful work till 1873, when another series of events happened resulting in a new treaty which gave the French still further advantages in Annamite territory.

Tonquin had not been brought back to the Annamites' sway after the insurrection of 1862, and since that time had only nominally been subject to the imperial rule. It was in possession of numerous hordes of Chinese, who defied the Emperor's power. In order to rid himself of such troublesome neighbors, the Emperor of Annam sent an ambassador to Saigon to ask the aid of the French. An expedition was fitted out under the command of M. Francis Earnier,[1] and some fifty men, who sailed to the north in the *Scorpion.* Another vessel of war assisted them, and they stormed the town at the entrance of the Song-hoi in Tonquin; but six days afterwards, on the 26th of Nov. 1873, Earnier was assassinated. We are not in possession of full information regarding all the events that followed this disastrous affair; but it appears that the French, finding the Annamite government incapable of dealing with the Tonquinese, and eager also for an opportunity of obtaining a footing in the northern part of Annam, took advantage of the crippled state of the Annamite authorities, and were able at last to negotiate a new treaty with the Emperor. The Annamites were regarded by the French as, on the one hand, allies whom the French were aiding to repress a rebellion, and, on the other hand, as in some measure responsible for M. Earnier's death. So that, in one respect, they were treated as if requiring French power to protect them, and also as responsible for Earnier's assassination.

The terms of the treaty seem to recognize both views; for in it the Annamites are both assured of protection, and at the same time punished for their misdeeds. The treaty consists of eight articles, by which (1), three ports were to be opened for commerce in Tonquin; (2), Europeans were to be allowed to reside and acquire property in these three places, under the protection of the French consul, and a garrison of 100 men; (3), free circulation within the Empire, by passport *visèd* by the French consul; (4), authority for the transit of Chinese goods to Tonquin; (5), free exercise of the

[1] M. Earnier was a distinguished naturalist, and made a successful exploration of the great Cambodian river, the course of which had hitherto been unknown to Europeans. He was able to discover the exact point at which it starts from the mountainous region of the Thibetan territory, an achievement to be placed side by side with that of Livingstone in his African travels. The results of his explorations were published early in 1873 in two splendid volumes, but the unfortunate traveller had perished at Turan before he had fully reaped the fruits of his toil.

Catholic religion throughout the empire; (6), payment to Spain (indemnity for losses and persecution of Catholic missionaries) of a million of piastres; (7), cession by France to the Annamite government of 5 steamers of 500 horse power, 100 cannons, and 1,000 muskets; and (8), interdiction to the Emperor of Annam, in case of internal revolts, of seeking the aid of any other power but France.[1]

The French power may be said to be now paramount in Annam. Lower Cochin-China has long been in its hands; Tonquin, in the north, has now passed into all but full possession; and the power of the Annamite Court is virtually confined to the central part of the Empire, in Higher Cochin-China, of which Hué is the capital. The French have also been able to place the neighboring kingdom of Cambodia under its protectorate. France has thus command of the whole southern and eastern seaboard of Annam in the Chinese sea and Gulf of Tonquin, to the Chinese frontier. She also has possession of all the mouths of the Mekong, a river extending 1,800 miles in length, and navigable for vessels of the heaviest tonnage for nearly 100 miles, and for smaller vessels up to the cataracts of Kong several hundred miles higher. Being Protector of Cambodia, her power extends to the frontiers of the kingdom of Siam. If the French deal with this large portion of Indo-China as the British have dealt with the Indian Peninsula, and if her resources prove equal to the undertaking, the complete possession of the large territory extending from the Siamese frontier to the Gulf of Tonquin is only a question of time. The principal port for commerce is Saigon, which is approached by the Donnai, and is about 50 to 60 miles from Cape St. James, in the China Sea. Vessels of the deepest draught can sail to Saigon without danger.

The Annamite Empire resembles the islands of the Malay Archipelago in regard to the mixture of races that obtains within its boundaries. The Cambodians are the only people between Siam and Tonquin that have a well-defined race character, and even they have in recent times come largely into contact with other peoples. There was, it is believed, a race of Annamites in the country lying close on the Chinese frontier beyond Tonquin and Laos who preserved their independence against the Chinese on the one hand, and the Cambodians on the other. They became ultimately the conquerors of Tonquin and Cochin-China; but in the course of the many revolutions that have taken place, the Chinese, Cambodians, Annamites, Malays from the islands, and even Hindus from south India, have all been immigrants or invaders at one period or another; so that original and typical race characters have been well nigh lost. The so-called Annamite of the present day, as found in Higher and Lower Cochin-China, and parts of Tonquin, approaches the Hindu in race features. His features are of a squarer type than those of the

[1] This treaty was signed on March 14th, 1874.

Hindu, but about the same size, while he has the Hindu's tall, slender, and well formed figure. The hair is allowed to grow very long, and it is a mark of high rank, or rather independence of labor, to let the nails of two of the fingers grow very long. The dress worn is a long, shirt-like garment, lying loosely about the figure, reaching to near the ankles among the women, and a little shorter among the men. The people are most filthy in their habits, and rarely wash themselves. Rice and fruits of all kinds form their food, and they are very fond of an intoxicating spirit called "Sam-shu." Like the Hindus, whom in many points they resemble, they are usually mild and inoffensive, and not given to serious fighting or quarrelling, except with their tongues; but, when their worst passions are roused, they can show much savagery in their disposition. Their mental powers are of rather a low order, but in the absence of anything like education, and amid the unsettled state of the country for ages, the Annamite has never had a chance of proving what real mental power he possesses. Mr. Thomson[1] gives an instance of what an Annamite or Cochin-Chinese is capable of becoming, in the case of a Cochin-Chinese Christian who could speak fluently in English and French, and was familiar with Spanish, Portuguese, and Italian. He was able also to read and write in tolerably good Latin, and had a scholarly knowledge of Siamese, Chinese, Sanskrit and Pali. Let us hope the Cochin-Chinese race can produce more such men as he.

The superiority of the Chinese race and civilization is nowhere seen more strikingly than in Cochin-China and neighboring countries. Though long able to maintain their independence against the Chinese, the Cochin-Chinese for ages have become assimilated to the former in their manners, usages, and institutions; and in this respect China has been the moral, if not the political conquerer of the Annamite races. The Annamite legal code is that of the Chinese during the Ming dynasty. The customs of the people are all Chinese. The official religion is that of Confucius, mingled with superstitious practices. The Chinese language and literature alone are adopted, at least among the higher classes. The Annamite language is spoken only by the common people, and its only literature is composed of a few poems, known by the people, but contemptuously ignored by the Mandarin class. As was the case with the Bengali language, the first real attempts to make the Annamite a written language were made by the missionaries, who attempted to form an alphabet of twenty-four letters, by which to express all the sounds in the Annamite speech.

We have said the religion of Cochin-China is Confucian, but that does not give an accurate idea of the religious views of the

[1] *Malacca, Indo-China, and China,* by J. Thomson, p. 178.

people. In fact, there is very little religion of any kind existing among them, and it is singular that the Cochin-Chinese, whose country is situated in the very centre of the regions where Buddhism has prevailed, have escaped all but entirely the influence of that system. Crawfurd and other travellers repeatedly remark on the absence of temples, shrines and priests, as well as religious observances among the Cochin-Chinese. Even the religion of the Court of Hué is only a kind of an ancestor-worship of a very rude and undefined form. Chinese geomancy, or "Feng-shui," the use of incantations and spells to ward off evil spirits, as among the Thibetans, prevail among the common people. The sorcerer takes the place of the priest, and the wizard's den is resorted to instead of the temple. Reverence for ancestors is seen in the care taken of the burying-places, and a kind of ancestor-worship is periodically performed at the graves. But Buddhist monasteries are hardly anywhere to be seen, and the yellow-robed Buddhist priest is almost a stranger among the Cochin-Chinese. So far as the propagation of religious doctrines is concerned, the missionary finds Cochin-China almost a virgin soil. There are no caste restrictions to contend against; no idolatrous systems to expose and condemn; there is no priesthood to incite the people against a new religion; and no such hatred of "foreign devils" as is common among the Chinese. There is the natural antipathy to the foreigner, common to all races that have not come much into contact with people of countries and manners very different from their own; and there are also degrading superstitions and customs of the people that offer very strong obstacles to the introduction of Christianity, but these are not, perhaps, greater than are to be found in other countries, where, in addition, an ancient religion and a bigoted priesthood oppose the introduction of the Gospel.

Much could be said in commendation of the zeal and devotion of the Roman Catholic missionaries. Most of them are Jesuits, but they show a degree of self-sacrifice and perseverance worthy of all praise. We have been assured by residents in Cochin-China that the Catholic priests have really done much good among the people, and that they are universally respected. In the early part of the century the native Christians were to be numbered by thousands in all parts of the country; and during the reign of Gia-long, the pupil of Bishop Adran, they enjoyed immunity from all persecution, and were even specially patronized by the Emperor. Had the eldest son of that monarch lived, the encouragement given to Catholic missionaries by Gia-long might have been increased and continued, for he was baptized as a Christian by Bishop Adran; but he died before his father, and with his and Gia-long's death, toleration to Christianity in any form came to an end. The native Christians having been in every case of the very poorest classes, none of them were able to obtain for their religion that social influence which men of high rank might have given it, had it been adopted by them. The very poverty of the Christians

made the proud Mandarins look on their religion with contempt; and, as it was associated with the foreigner, whom, after Gia-long's death, they hated and feared, persecution became a matter of course. It was in protecting their suffering flocks from the cruelty and rapacity of the Mandarins and other officials that the French and Spanish Catholics exposed themselves to persecution, and on account of their efforts many of them were imprisoned and killed. While all praise is due to the Catholics for their devotion to their calling, it cannot be said that their efforts have been successful in elevating the people in intelligence and morality. In truth, the Catholic missionary in Cochin-China, as in other heathen countries, seems to do his work more as a penance for his own sake than from a desire to elevate and improve the people. He is not only a missionary, but a monk, and the courage with which he penetrates to unknown and barbarous countries, and remains for years among the lowest of the people, is only of the same kind as that which leads men to fill the cloisters of monasteries in European countries. While he is the friend and father of the people among whom he dwells, he gives them but little of religious truth that serves to awaken or appeal to their intelligence, or supply them with motives to a pure morality. The people can see but little difference between the incantations of their own sorcerers, and the stereotyped journal prayers of the Catholic priest; nor can the gross materialism of the Catholic ritual appear very different from the spells cast by their own geomancers. The little influence of the Catholic missionaries on even the people who have professed Christianity is seen in the fact that in education, intelligence, morality, they are but little, if at all, elevated above the mass of their heathen countrymen.

In closing this sketch, we may remark that as regards geographical position, natural productions and races, Cochin-China is one of the most important countries in the East, and has a great future before it. At one time, during the governorship of the Marquis of Hastings, it seemed as if Great Britain was about to take the place in Cochin-China, now occupied by the French; but that opportunity passed away. The French have not as yet proved either good colonists, or rulers of foreign dependencies; and it cannot be said that their experiment in Cochin-China has proved very encouraging. With the exception of encouraging exports of rice from Saigon, but little has been done for the development of the commercial and trading resources of the country. Nearly all the vegetable and mineral productions of India may be found in Cochin-China, but with the exception of rice and a few other fruits, the people prefer to import most of their luxuries from Singapore and Penang. There was a time when the vast plain forming the basin of the Donnai was fully cultivated as far as Saigon; but when the present writer visited that country last year, it was mostly covered with jungle. The provinces in the hands of the French are capable of sustaining at

least some thirteen millions of people, but the population amounts to only about three millions. The policy of the French in governing Cochin-China resembles too closely that of the Dutch in regard to their settlements of Java and other colonies; government is intended to yield a revenue to the French nation. Hence various restrictive imposts are levied. Every foreigner settling in the country has to pay a poll-tax of five dollars a year. Gambling houses are licensed by Government, and as the Cochin-Chinese and Chinese are inveterate gamblers, this impost yields an immense revenue. In Saigon, the people flock in thousands to these gambling dens, and the consequent demoralization may be easily imagined. Corruption among the official class is also too common; and a common remark in Saigon, when we were there, was that officials receiving only about one or two hundred dollars a month were able to retire after a very few years with fortunes. Even the judicial class is not free from suspicion; for last year one of the French judges was under suspension on a charge of corruption. Vast sums are expended on the palace of the governor and his grounds, and on the houses of the high officials, while the barracks of the soldiers are miserable dens, almost on a level with the ground, and regularly flooded in the rainy season. At that season about 50 per cent. of the soldiers are usually in hospital, with malarious fever and other diseases. A visitor is struck with the contrast between the grandeur and squalor in Saigon, and the rapid transition from the garden to the jungle in the suburbs of the place. The Frenchman seems determined to make himself comfortable wherever he goes; and the boast of M. Carné, the unfortunate explorer of the Mekong, that "no Mandarin was able to boast of "having a more elegant palace" than the French petty governor in a remote district of Cochin-China, betrays the weakness of French officialdom. They pluck the fruit before it is ripe; and in their anxiety to make things comfortable about them recklessly spend money that ought to be more wisely invested in developing the resources of the country.

The French are not without enterprise, but they do not seem to profit by the experience of other countries in opening up a new colony. Attempts have been made to grow tea and coffee, but for want of previous care in examining the nature of the soil, and its "position," they have in most instances failed. We saw the chocolate tree growing in the Botanical Gardens at Saigon, and it promised success. Doubtless, failure in these early attempts is in many cases unavoidable; and we may hope that the disappointment of too eager speculators and experimenters will only render their successors more careful, and therefore more successful. That there is much to be learned in this way one instance may serve to show. A Frenchman hearing of the wonderful progress of Cochin-China as a French Colony, thought he might make his fortune at once by a bold and

timely speculation. He started from France with a large consignment of *spring mattresses,* imagining that the Cochin-Chinese would buy up these luxurious aids to comfort at any price, and was considerably disgusted to find that his goods remained as dead stock on his hands!

In regard to missionary enterprise in Cochin-China, we fear the French and Spanish Roman Catholics are likely to be the only misssionaries there for a long time. We do not know that Protestant missionaries of other countries would be allowed to settle and labor in the country. The special mention of the Roman Catholic religion in the treaties seems to indicate that the missionaries of that body alone would enjoy the protection of both the Annamite and French Governments; but the adoption of more liberal principles by the French home government will doubtless lead to a change in the policy of exclusiveness that has regulated their procedure in regard to Cochin-China. The Roman Catholics themselves would be sure to use all their influence to prevent the entrance of Protestant laborers into this new field; and if an entrance were actually obtained, unpleasant complications might follow, from the fact that the Catholics are already in possession, and would do all in their power to oppose the teachers of a faith to which they are bitterly opposed. When the French Government gives up the Dutch-like selfishness and exclusiveness that now so largely regulates its policy, and adopts, as the British Government has done in India, a policy by which freedom in commerce and religion, and settlement in the country shall be granted to all, both the merchant and missionary will be able to look more hopefully than now to Cochin-China as an important and inviting field of labor.

Art. III.—HINTS ON TEMPERANCE.

ONE of the topics now pressing itself into prominence in India is Temperance. The newspapers are calling attention to the rapid spread of intemperance in this country, and public meetings are held from time to time in the interest of total abstinence. Nor can this be counted strange, for we could hardly expect it to be otherwise, when so much is being said and done in behalf of temperance in England and America. The last significant movement in this line is the wonderful phenomenon of the "Women's Temperance "Crusade," initiated by Ohio ladies. This is but the normal outgrowth of an agitation which has stirred the brain and heart of Christendom so powerfully during the last quarter of a century. Women who had appealed in vain to the laws of the land and to the leaders of the Church, thrown back on the fatherhood of God, have poured their complaint into his ear, and found him ready to help. After this we shall look for the organized efforts of good women, wherever hard and patient work is called for to suppress the iniquitous traffic in intoxicating drinks. The East, no less than the West, needs this woman's crusade, and we shall hail its advent in our Indian cities with joy and hope.

No apology is offered for presenting in this Journal a topic which is already claiming the serious and even anxious thoughts of many Christian toilers in this country. Not a few of this number are to-day gravely pondering the ways and means for saving native converts from the vortex of vice into which intemperance is hurrying its victims by uncounted multitudes.

It is foreign to our present purpose to trace the line of argument for total abstinence which Christian and scholarly men have derived from the Word of God. It will suffice us now to know that hundreds of devout and thorough students of the Bible firmly believe in the Scriptural authority for total abstinence, boldly publish this to the world, and consistently conform their lives to it. Hence it does not seem necessary to attempt a discussion of the various kinds of wines mentioned in the Bible, nor to examine those passages of Holy Writ which seem to favor the use of intoxicating drinks. As a recent American writer has aptly and forcibly said :—

"We are not dealing with the situation as it was in Jewish Society near two thousand years ago, but with the situation in America at the present time. Whatever may have been in the past, in the present we know that of ten young men who start out in life as habitual moderate drinkers, at least five of them will be ruined, body and soul. This and a thousand kindred facts give sufficient reason for the utmost efforts of all Christians to free men from the destroyer, by whatever means experience shows to be the most effective. The warnings against the abuse of the wine-cup are sufficiently urgent and alarming throughout the Scriptures. They were addressed to a pure blooded, pas-

toral, milk-drinking people, at a time when stronger intoxicants than light wines were unknown. Now we have had near three centuries of universal drugging,—of tea, coffee, tobacco, opium, concentrated alcohol and hot condiments, and the effects of these artificial stimulants are inherited. There is not a soul of us who has not the passion for high stimulation transmitted to us, and it lies in the system like a sleeping tiger. That which the disciples might have done, and probably did do, with innocence and safety, the young men of this generation will do upon their deadly peril. Those who wish to use the temperance regulations of Judea in the time of Christ, in this age, are bound to give us the same conditions. They must cleanse the blood of this generation of the inherited and absorbed effects of tobacco, patent medicines, opium, tea, coffee, luxurious living, alcohol drinking, and overwork. They must clear out of our country all brandies, whiskies, and those maddening compounds of acetates and strychnine, so that there shall not be a gill of any of them within the limits of the confederacy. After all this is done, thoroughly and unmistakably done, we shall not say a word against general moderate wine drinking, until we see how it works. It is all right to carry a shovel of burning coals from one's kitchen to the family room, but a man who would carry it through a powder magazine deserves to go to the penitentiary. Our farmers have a perfect right to fire their log-heaps and brush, under proper circumstances, but if one of them should fire his clearing in a September drought and in a high wind, when the land was covered with dry grass and leaves, and set with grain stacks—well, his neighbors and law would be apt to make it hot for him. If a large proportion of our people are not now masses of charred tinder, liable to be set on fire with the spark of liquid fire in the purest wine cup, then we do not know anything about the condition of society."

We cannot for a moment suppose that if in Palestine and in our Saviour's day wine-drinking did more harm than good, as it unquestionably does in our day, it could have received his sanction. Such a supposition would impugn alike his candor and his benevolence. The rule of the Bible which, in this matter, must be supreme and final, is this :—" *It is good neither to eat flesh, nor to* " *drink wine, nor anything whereby thy brother stumbleth, or is* " *offended or is made weak.*"

It would manifestly be out of place to exhibit on the pages of this *Review* the invulnerable argument for total abstinence based on scientific facts and physiological research. There is not the need for this that there was forty years ago. But it may serve our present purpose to merely indicate several prominent features of the case as viewed from a medical stand-point. It has been scientifically demonstrated over and over again that alcoholic drinks are injurious to both body and mind. Alcohol in no form adds to the vital forces ; it subtracts from them. There can never be nutrition in alcohol. A stimulant at best, it quickens but never restores the natural forces, and this quickening is invariably followed by exhaustion. These statements represented postulates years ago, but are now accepted as incontrovertible facts. The testimony of experienced physicians is a strong tower of proof, which cannot be gainsayed. In 1871 the *London Times* published a significant statement over the signatures of two hundred and fifty English physicians. Here is a paragraph from it :—

"As it is believed that the inconsiderate prescription of large quantities of alcoholic liquids by medical men for their patients, has given rise, in many instances, to the formation of intemperate habits, the undersigned, while unable to abandon the use of alcohol in the treatment of certain cases of disease, are yet of opinion that no medical practitioner should prescribe it without a sense of grave responsibility. They believe that alcohol, in whatever form, should be prescribed with as much care as any powerful drug; and that the directions for its use should be so framed, as not to be interpreted as a sanction for excess, or necessarily for the continuance of its use when the occasion is past."

The American Medical Association at a recent meeting adopted the following resolutions :—

"*Resolved*,—That in view of the alarming prevalence and ill effects of intemperance, with which none are so familiar as the members of the medical profession, and which have called forth from English physicians the voice of warning to the people of Great Britain concerning the use of alcoholic beverages, we, as members of the medical profession of the United States, unite in the declaration that we believe that alcohol should be classed with other powerful drugs; that when prescribed medicinally, it should be done with conscientious caution and a sense of great responsibility.

"*Resolved*,—That we are of the opinion that the use of alcoholic liquors as a beverage is productive of a large amount of physical and mental disease; that it entails diseased appetites and enfeebled constitutions upon offspring; and that it is the cause of a large percentage of crime and pauperism in our large cities and country.

"*Resolved*,—That we welcome any change in public sentiment that would confine the use of intoxicating liquors to the uses of science, art and medicine."

These emphatic utterances are sufficiently mild and moderate to commend themselves to all unprejudiced minds. Indeed, some of our readers will have remarked the stronger current of opposition to the use of alcohol which is setting in among the members of the medical profession. A few quotations from the published opinions of physicians in high standing will sufficiently illustrate this growing tendency towards the disuse of alcoholic stimulants in the sick room. An English practitioner of half a century's experience writes as follows :—" All discoveries in science or philosophy fall into utter " insignificance compared with a discovery that all disorders and " diseases can be *safely and successfully treated* without the use of " alcohol, and also that alcohol is not an aliment. The discovery " is of a world-wide importance, and the blessings and benefits " arising from it are incalculable." The same physician says :— " When a patient is in a sinking state from disease, and when a " medical man has thought an alcoholic stimulant absolutely " necessary to snatch the patient from death, *in this case the great " danger is that such a stimulant will extinguish the small spark " of life remaining, and that the patient will be destroyed.* It was " truly said of the Brunonian system, that Dr. Brown made no " provision in his system for the recovery of exhaustion arising " from the effects of taking alcoholic stimulants."

Another physician of great experience writes as follows :—" In " my practice I have given no stimulants in fever for years. I have

"never, so far as I can remember, for ten or twelve years lost a "single patient." Another says:—"During the thirty-seven years "of my practice as a total abstainer, I have never used one "drop of alcohol as a medicine. Four years ago, in the town "in which I reside, which contains only 1,800 inhabitants, I "was called upon to see 500 cases of typhoid fever. Every "one of those 500 cases was treated without one drop of "alcohol. And now the question is, did I lose more patients "out of that 500 than I should have done, had they been "treated with alcohol? The statistics of the deaths by typhoid "fever amount to from sixteen to twenty-five per hundred. I lost "during that year four *per cent*, and therefore the fact is established "that fever, typhoid fever, one of the worst fevers we have to treat, "may be treated, and treated successfully, without the use of "intoxicating drinks."

Only another word from the medical stand-point. The administration of alcohol to the sick has undoubtedly sent many patients drunk into the next world. The practitioner of half a century cited above, says on this point,—"It is not unusual to give wine or "brandy at the apparent approach of death. Such a practice is a "mistaken kindness. In many instances patients are sent drunk "into another world, having their minds beclouded, and rendered "incapable of leaving a dying testimony to their anxious and "expectant friends and relatives. I have heard this commented "upon as a very just and serious complaint against some medical "men. 'Let me go home sober,' said an old lady, when urged on "her death-bed to sustain her failing strength with brandy. The "medical friend of the late excellent Dr. John Pye Smith, on perceiving a rapid diminution of power, recommended some brandy "to his water beverage. This proposal was conveyed to the eye of "Dr. Smith in writing, on account of his great deafness. He turned to his wife and emphatically said, 'Never, my dear; I charge "'you, if such a remedy be proposed when I am incompetent to "'refuse, let me die rather than swallow the liquid.'"

Says the Rev. Dr. Wilberforce in a letter to the *Hampshire Advertiser*:—"No one who has read Baron Stockmar's touching "account of the death of Princess Charlotte,—will readily forget his "description of her piteous cry from her death-bed, 'Doctor, they "'have made me tipsy'; and those who know the whole of the sad "history of the death bed of the Prince Consort will understand "what I mean, when I say it has taught its lessons, and borne its "fruit."

Intemperance in India, as everywhere else, is a tremendous evil, and is fast taking on the proportions of a national calamity. That this vice is a mighty barrier to the progress of Christianity in this country, no thoughtful person can doubt or deny. There is the patent fact that the use of intoxicating substances is destroying the

souls and bodies of multitudes. Who can count the victims of opium, of hemp (*ganja*), and of the intoxicating liquors, domestic and foreign, now being poured so plentifully, into our Indian market? The missionary's eye often rests on the heart-rending desolation that has come over once peaceful and happy communities, where the rum fiend has done his work, and left his terrible traces. What picture more dreadful, more revolting, than the everyday scenes of the opium and *ganja* shops? Who can portray that fatal fascination that "holds its victims fast bound—mind, heart, "soul and conscience—all absolutely dead to every impulse but "the insatiable, ever-increasing thirst for the damning poison?" Gazing into sunken eyes we read there the unmistakable tale of self-indulgence and inebriety. And the counterpart of the picture is to be seen in the desolate abodes of those slaves to intoxicating drugs. The patrimony squanderd, home robbed of the last comfort, wife and children driven to either beg or steal their daily bread,—these are familiar sights in India to-day, and no careful observer can escape them.

Another hard fact is this: the demon of intemperance is rapidly extending his conquests in this country. Castes formerly free from this vice are now deeply involved,[1] and the domestic circles of Hindus, Muhammadans and aborigines alike have been invaded by this fell destroyer. Liquor shops and opium and *ganja* stands have increased manyfold during the last ten years. The supply indicates with unerring certainty the demand. We have taken no little pains for several years to look into this matter, particularly in Bengal, and we cannot avoid reaching the conclusion that intemperance is fearfully increasing in native society. In one *sudder* station we know that the places where intoxicating drinks and drugs may be bought have increased full fourfold in ten years. The orthodox Hindu has no scruples of conscience about taking opium, *ganja* or any other intoxicating drug, and the "progressive" Hindu is fond and proud of his cups. Brandy is too strong for Shastras and superstitions, and is breaking down the old bulwarks of religion and reason. In the immediate circle of our own personal observation we have seen enough of this vice to make our heart sick. One Bengali *babu* of refined manners and liberal education was our neighbor. He drew a good salary in Government service, and was one of the clever men who rise in their departments. Educated at a missionary college he had a strong learning towards Christianity. Naturally of

[1] The *Bengal Christian Herald*, of March 12, has the following:—
"The selling of liquor is assigned by the Shastras to a particular class who, by no means, occupy a very enviable position in Hindu Society; but such is the degeneracy of the age we live in that liquor traffic is no longer a monopoly of the Soories, but that Koolin Brahmins and Koolin Kaysthas are often seen to take part in it. And why? Because it is found to be more lucrative than many other trades or professions."

generous impulses he was a favorite among his friends, and his home was always cheerful and inviting. The tempter came in the form of alcoholic stimulant prescribed medicinally. By degrees the craving for intoxicating drink as a beverage grew into an uncontrollable appetite. The sequel is easily told. He died young of *delirium tremens,* and his personal effects went to pay the brandy bill. Another case will suffice. A Hindu gentleman of marked ability was the acknowledged head of the bar in the town where we lived. He was of the "progressive" class, and being fond of good company soon fell to drinking. One Christmas night, after a disgraceful carousal, he was thrown from his carriage in a state of intoxication and died on the spot. These are by no means solitary cases. We hazard nothing in saying that hundreds of such might be found if wanted.[1]

There is a third fact, which comes closer home, and must impress the missionary more powerfully. Intemperance in its very worst forms is making sad havoc in our native Christian communities. There is hardly a mission in India that has not experienced the fearful ravages of this monster vice. All over this extended missionary field we are deploring the defection of converts taken captive by this snare of the devil. Cases of church discipline for drunkenness are becoming sadly frequent, particularly in our larger towns. The children of our native Christians are beset on every side by strong temptations to self-indulgence, and not a few of them are being overcome and ruined by intoxicating substances. During the past seven years the writer has repeatedly heard missionaries complaining most bitterly of promising converts who have been led astray by strong drink. Native preachers are from time to time suspended or discharged from service for indulging freely in intoxicating beverages, and disgracing themselves in the presence of the heathen. In one mission the eldest son of a native preacher held a lucrative post in the printing office, and was an active member of the church. Now, after repeated warnings and much pleading all in vain, he is excluded from the church, turned out of the office, and lives, like drunkards the world over, in rags and misery, a complete wreck of his former self. In another mission the three sons of a prominent native preacher, who was a *ganja* smoker to the day of his death, have gone down one by one to fill a drunkard's grave, and meet a drunkard's doom. These were cases of children born in the mission, and the list might be greatly extended. Converts from Hinduism and Muhammadanism are perhaps in still greater danger of contracting habits of intemperance, for the craving for high stimulation is inherited in many cases. Converts from the aboriginal tribes are hardly less exposed to danger. What desola-

[1] The *Indian Mirror*, which is undoubtedly well informed on the subject, has more than once published statements which fully substantiate that made above.

tion our Baptist brethren have depicted as the work of arrack and opium among the Karens ! The besetting sin of the Cole and Santhal Christians is inebriety. Every hill tribe has its domestic liquor and its drunken debauch, hence converts from it are predisposed to excess in this direction.

This prevailing sin is degrading our Christian profession in the eyes of the heathen, and unless such indulgence is arrested it will make our holy religion a hissing and a by-word in the mouths of idolaters. In a large Bengal bazar two native preachers were seen wildly gesticulating at the preaching-stand, and the crowd of Hindus were enjoying the sport, when the missionary came up and found his helpers too drunk for such service. What could he do but boldly expose and denounce these men before their pagan neighbors ? Our camp once stood in a place not many miles away from the bazar mentioned above. The people had heard of the disgraceful scene, and several of the same sort of drinking Christians had visited them. No wonder we were confronted with the vices of these weak disciples. On our first introduction, the people geeringly asked us,—" Why do " all your Christians get drunk ?" They could not be blamed for judging Christians from the specimens they had seen.

Such are the facts, and we could add to them from the internal history of well nigh every mission in India. All that has been said is preliminary to the question, which many of us are seriously asking ourselves to-day. What can be done to save our churches from the rising tide and the impending ruin of intemperance ? It will not help matters to shut our eyes, or cover up the solid facts of the case. The situation is patent to all, and the responsibility it imposes grave and irresistible. Very little, it seems to us, may be hoped for from appealing to the Government, though it cannot but be the bounden duty of every missionary throughout India to cheerfully and heartily advocate and support any wise legislation which would tend to restrict within proper limits the sale and the use of alcoholic beverages and intoxicating drugs. There is other work and enough of it that we may do in our own communities and among our converts. Without claiming to be wiser than his brethren, the writer ventures to offer the following suggestions, with the hope that they may help to create a sounder temperance sentiment and arrest a growing vice in the native Christian community.

1. Total abstinence presents the only feasible and effective remedy for intemperance in India. It seems to us that anything short of this must prove a failure. Natives of this climate cannot manage moderate drinking, but are sure to run into excess. Over and over again have we heard of moderate drinkers becoming tipsy or being found drunk. King Solomon said three thousand years ago that wine is a mocker, and these Hindus are daily illustrating the truth of this saying. The stoutest resolutions give way before the temptations from without, and the mask battery of a clamoring ap-

petite within. *Touch not, taste not, handle not,* is the rule, and the only rule, we firmly believe, that stands a chance of success here. Not for the good cheer of hospitality, nor for the "stomach's sake," can intoxicating beverages or drugs be used by those who would keep a firm foothold themselves, and save others already standing on slippery places. No middle ground is tenable in the face of a current so strong and so devastating.

2. Every missionary of Christ can accomplish most for temperance by being a total abstainer himself. We believe that many Indian missionaries are total abstainers, using alcoholic drinks only when prescribed by a regular physician, and for the sake of our cause we hope all may become such. Is not the testimony of the medical faculty strong enough against all alcoholic beverages to warrant us in throwing aside forever the wine cup and the brandy flask? Be it granted that, so far as he is concerned solely and individually, the temperate drinker stands on higher ground because he exercises a manly control over himself. But for the sake of others he is bound to relinquish his own rights in a matter that so vitally concerns the weal of society. "It is good neither to eat flesh, nor "to drink wine, nor anything whereby thy brother stumbleth, or "is offended, or is made weak." This must be *our* rule if we would make it the rule for our converts. What we might do perhaps and justify ourselves in doing in Europe or America, a just regard for the welfare of the weak, the tempted and the easily deceived, obliges us to refrain from doing here in this missionary field. The missionary's example is a tower and talisman of strength when it succors and protects and builds up the native converts, but how disastrous that very example may be when it becomes a snare and a stumbling block in the way of the inexperienced and confiding disciple! One of the native preachers cited above used to answer, when remonstrated with against the habit of smoking *ganja*, "Let "the missionaries first give up their brandy." We once met a missionary brother who used to accept and partake of the domestic liquor of the natives among whom he itinerated, and he spoke of it as a nice thing to do for the sake of gaining their favor! It is by no means uncommon for the poor people to offer a traveller liquor, but how one could preserve self-respect and take it we fail to understand. But is this worse than drinking socially or taking "pegs" with our own countrymen, a practice which cannot but degrade us in the estimation of intelligent native Christians?

It is sometimes the case that missionaries coming to India as total abstainers feel obliged to use alcoholic beverages to ward off the effects of this enervating climate. Such would do well to bear in mind that the aguments from medical science against the habitual use of intoxicating liquors apply with still greater force to our Indian climate. The *Indian Medical Gazette* not only endorsed but commended the position taken by British physicians in this mat-

ter, and urged the consideration of it upon medical men throughout India. If anywhere on the face of the globe, men should be temperate, and need to keep free from all intoxicating substances, it is here in India. The "liver" that sends so many Europeans home is sometimes a mere misnomer for brandy bite.

It is gratifying to know that there are several missions in India, all the missionaries of which are strict total abstainers. We know of four such, and hope the number may increase.

3. Temperance Leagues among Europeans could render effective service in carrying on the work of reform. At many of our mission stations there is more or less of a European community, composed of civil and military officers and other government servants, soldiers, planters, private residents, merchants and railway people. Everybody knows how much need there is for a reform in some of these communities. How often the vices of Europeans obstruct the missionary's work among the heathen. It is time well spent to labor for the welfare of our countrymen, when their example is a standing protest against our work as missionaries. The Anglo-Indian Christian Union is doing excellent service, but we are not aware of its making any move in the direction of temperance leagues. At several large stations an organization, known as the *Good Templars,* is doing much good.[1] Almost everywhere the missionary will find a few Europeans ready to assist him in his efforts to save men from the sin and misery of intemperance. Such helpers are invaluable. The pledge of total abstinence may secure many signatures through their active and generous endeavors.

4. There should be a Temperance Society in every native church for its members and for all others whom they can persuade to join it. The pledge should embrace all intoxicating drinks and drugs. This should be carefully explained, and all persons wishing to subscribe to it should be thoroughly examined as to their understanding of the obligation the pledge imposes. There should be regular meetings, and on these occasions the roll should be called, and the standing of each number ascertained. Persons who break the pledge should be dealt with firmly but kindly, and if practicable restored to fellowship. We have tested this plan for several years and found it to be a good one. It has proved a blessing to many weak ones who might have gone astray, and it has reclaimed some who had begun an intemperate course. Hindus, Musalmans and others should be eligible to membership in such a society, though it might be well for the office-holders to be Christians. Members of the Hindu and Muhammadan communities could thus co-operate with Christians in carrying forward a much needed reform in native society, and the more of such co-operation the better.

[1] The good service now being done among the soldiers of the Indian army by the *Soldiers' Total Abstinence Association* (head-quarters at Agra) should by no means be overlooked.—*Ed. I. E. R.*

Whereas some temperance societies organized several years ago, have died out for lack of patient effort on the part of their promoters, we rejoice to know that others are holding on their way, and their power for good constantly increasing. Let the missionary organize such societies in all the native churches under his care, and he will surely have reason to rejoice over the good results of his efforts.

5. As at home so here much may be done by means of children's temperance bands. We can hardly begin working too early, where the craving for intoxicating substances is inherited, and so soon developed as in India. Our mission school boys sometimes fall to drinking or using opium and *ganja* when quite young. We believe tobacco should be included in the temperance pledge for children, for here in India the use of this drug is unquestionably the stepping stone in many instances to worse indulgencies. We cannot guard our school boys and girls too carefully from the insidious approach of that deadly foe to health and happiness, intemperance. By beginning with the children we may hope to save the men and women.

6. Our native congregations should be more thoroughly instructed in the duty of temperance. Sermons bringing out the Bible proofs and week day lectures illustrating and enforcing the practical bearings of this great subject should be delivered from time to time. The woes of the intemperate should be faithfully exhibited for a warning to the tempted ones, and the beauty and beneficence of a strictly temperate life should be held up before the plastic mind of childhood and youth. In our meetings for prayer frequent mention should be made of the wayward ones led astray by the fascination of the wine cup, and our heavenly Father's blessing implored on all agencies employed for the reformation of the degraded sons and daughters of vice. Our pulpits should faithfully declare that no drunkard can enter the kingdom of heaven and our prayers and pleadings for the slaves of sin should ever go up to God, while our hearts and hands toil on for their rescue. Dr. Lyman Beecher's Temperance Sermons inaugurated a new era in the history of American temperance, and the lectures of such men as Hon. Neal Dow and J. B. Gough have laid the foundations of sound temperance sentiments throughout Christendom. Let us have more healthy temperance teaching in all our missions, and let us begin it at once.

7. We greatly need temperance literature in all the vernaculars of India, and it is our duty to provide it for the people. Our native brethren should be encouraged to prepare treatises setting forth the evils of intemperance, and some should write temperance songs for the children's bands and the societies. Mr. Gregson's periodical *On Guard* is doing a noble work among Europeans, and we wish its subscription list might be increased tenfold. The *Bombay Guardian*

and the *Lucknow Witness* are true to their names from a temperance point of view. *The Church of England Temperance Magazine,* wherever it circulates, creates a thorough temperance sentiment, and its list of clergymen, who are total abstainers, is a badge of honor to its effective service. But let us have more genuine temperance prose and poetry, more temperance facts and fiction in all our vernaculars. Whoever lends a hand in this direction will be counted a public benefactor and many will hereafter rise up to call him blessed.

In conclusion we wish to say that there is no time to lose. The arch enemy of souls is ever on the alert and the intoxicating drinks and drugs are his favorite weapons for ruining our fellowmen. Let us likewise be ever on the alert, using every weapon God has given us, and using it with all our might. Some doubtless will count us fanatical and cry out "excitement." Let all such ponder the well weighed words of the Rev. Dr. Arnot, who having been charged with excitement when speaking on total abstinence, replied :—

> "People need not tell me that I am excited on this question. I know that I am. I should be ashamed before God and man if I were not. There is more in the public houses of Glasgow to stir the spirit of a minister than all that Paul saw at Athens. In my ministry I meet the horrid fruits of these whisky shops, I see men and women perishing in these pitfalls. The number of the victims is so great that it overwhelms me. My brain is burning, my heart is breaking. The Church is asleep, and the world too, and they are hugging each other. I am weary with holding in. I must cry. I would rather be counted singular in the judgment of man, than be unfaithful in the judgment of God."

Missionaries have a noble record in India. Since the days of the distinguished Serampore trumvirate, those pioneer heroes, Carey, Marshman and Ward, how much has been done by missionaries to cleanse legislation, and in a thousand ways, public and private, to ameliorate the condition of the Indian people. Who is there but honors Dr. Murdoch for his dauntless efforts for the expurgation of our vernacular school books, or his brave coadjutors in well nigh every city of India for their fearless, faithful endeavors to search out and suppress the obscene literature, that is flooding the land ? And shall not missionaries unite to crush this hydra intemperance, which is squandering fortunes, turning happy homes into abodes of torment, blasting the fairest hopes of the young, and transforming men into sots, idiots and madmen ?

J. L. P.

Art. IV.—NOMINAL CHRISTIANS IN INDIA.[1]

THE subject of this paper is not those professing Christians who are regular in their attendance upon the ordinances of the Christian Church, who would keenly resent the imputation of being opposed to Christianity, although, in reality, they may be unconverted, living without hope, without God in the world, knowing not Jesus and the power of his resurrection. They are indeed in a lamentable condition, having a form of godliness, but denying the power thereof, having a name to live, but being really dead.

The classes to which our paper does refer are composed of those who habitually neglect meeting with the assemblies of God's people, who engage in no private or social worship, who do not profess to be looking to Jesus Christ for salvation, over whom Christianity exercises no direct conscious influence. Nominally Christian, they are acting in open direct disobedience to the distinct requirements of Christianity. By way of caution we here remark that we must not take a pessimist view of this matter.

We are always apt to think that the times, in which our lot is cast, are worse than those in which our ancestors lived. We are eulogists of the past and depreciators of the present. But any one who has read Kaye's *Christianity in India*, knows in what a low condition Christianity was in this country in the beginning of the present century; and even coming down to such a comparatively late period as thirty years ago, and confining our attention to one branch of the service, we have been told that then there were very few of the officers in the native regiments who were in the habit of attending church. Now, let us see how matters stand in one Indian city. The European and Eurasian Christian population of Allahabad is probably above 4,000 but under 5,000. If church accommodation were provided for half of that number, it would be a more ample provision than is considered necessary in a home parish, where attendance at church may be universal on the part of those able to attend. It is calculated that in Allahabad there is church accommodation for at least 2,500, and we believe that all the churches are exceedingly well attended, so that if we take the church attendance in that city as a sample of the church-going habits of Europeans and Eurasians in India generally, we have abundant reason to thank God that a much greater outward respect is paid now to the Christian religion than was the case some thirty years ago. Still, while acknowledging with thankfulness the improvement that has been indicated, we have to

[1] This article is the substance of a paper read at Mr. Somerville's Conference at Allahabad, on the 5th January 1875, by Rev. J. Williamson.

mourn over large numbers of our Anglo-Indian community who have either altogether lapsed or are in danger of lapsing from a profession of Christianity.

Now, as in England, there are in India two distinct classes who have lapsed from Christianity.

I. The highly educated, who are professedly sceptic.

II. Those who could not give any intelligent reason why they do not obey Christ's commandments, but who, from various reasons, practically reject his authority.

I. The highly educated, who are professedly sceptic.

They disbelieve in the supernatural character of Christianity; they reject the very idea of miracles; they disbelieve in a future world of rewards and punishments; they may grant that Jesus was a very good man, a good moral teacher, but he was not Divine, and it is absurdity itself to talk of him as the Saviour of the world; they maintain that there are most glaring discrepancies between the statements of Scripture and the ascertained facts of history, and that modern science is in direct conflict with certain assertions of the Bible, etc., etc. We cannot but feel grieved, deeply grieved, when we see men of such high intellectual attainments, cultivated tastes, not unfrequently of blameless lives, generous aspirations, animated with the purest feelings of benevolence in secular matters, putting themselves in such direct opposition to what we believe to be the light, the life and the happiness of the world. We feel that any amount of labor which we might put forth on their behalf, would be abundantly rewarded by their being won over to the Gospel. We feel that if the influence which they cannot but exercise through the press, or as members of the civil and educational services, were exerted on behalf of Christ's cause, a very great impetus would be given to the propagation of the Gospel among the educated natives in this country.

It requires rare gifts of intellect, prudence, sympathy, consistency of Christian character, to deal with this class of highly educated Englishmen. Those Christians who are possessed of such gifts, when they have an opportunity of conversing with these sceptics, will not ignore nor think lightly of their honest doubts. In the spirit of Christian love they will attempt to show them, that great as the difficulties in belief may be, the difficulties in disbelief are infinitely greater; that so far from miracles being impossible—if there be granted, the personal existence of an Omnipotent God, the Moral Governor of the World—if there be a *nodus dignus vindice*, the presumed impossibility melts away; between the ascertained facts of Science and Scripture properly interpreted, there is no real conflict. While it is not the province of Scripture to teach natural science—while the language which the Bible employs is taken from the popular phraseology, *e. g.*, the sun rising and setting,—

unlike the sacred books of the Phœnician, Persian, Hindu, Chinese and Greek religions which notoriously teach false science—the Bible has never stamped its *imprimatur* upon what true science has shown to be erroneous; that recent investigations have removed some of what appeared to be discrepancies between certain statements of Scripture and the ascertained facts of history, *e. g.*, it was alleged that the book of Daniel could not be trustworthy, as it asserted that Belshazzar was the last king of Babylon, while Berosus, a profane historian, stated that Nabonnedus was the last. The apparent discrepancy was removed by a recent discovery of Sir Henry Rawlinson, who found a monument at Um-Queer, on which there was an inscription which stated that Nabonnedus had associated his son Belshazzar with him in the kingdom; and thus we understand how Daniel was to be the *third* not the *second* in the kingdom, as we would naturally suppose he would have been had Belshazzar been the sole king of Babylon instead of reigning conjointly as he did with his father. And going to the very heart of the matter, they will strive to show that if these honest doubters acknowledge Jesus Christ to be a good man, they cannot but acknowledge him to be much more; if he were a good man he would not deliberately have claimed to be Divine, which he assuredly did. The teaching, the character of Jesus, cannot but convince any honest enquirer that he was what he professed to be—the Son of God—who came into this world to give his life a ransom for sinners, that they might not perish but have everlasting life.

Lately the Christian Evidence Society arranged for two series of lectures by the ablest men that could be found in England on the different phases of unbelief. And an able missionary in this country last year wrote nine Essays on what he called the "Fundamental Questions of the Day."

In these three books—*Modern Scepticism*, *Faith and Free Thought*, and *Essays on Fundamental Questions*, honest sceptics will find an honest attempt made to remove their doubts. But the book next to the Bible, which will always be perused with the greatest advantage, is Butler's Analogy, and we think that no higher testimony could be given of its power in dealing with an *honest* disbeliever in Christianity, but who believes in a God who is the Creator and Governor of the universe, than the testimony of the elder Mill, who thought that while disbelieving in Christianity he could find a resting place in Theism. But after reading and mastering Butler's Analogy, he was constrained to acknowledge that those difficulties which would prevent him from accepting Christianity as the revelation of a perfect God, would equally prevent him from accepting the world as being created and governed by a God perfect in power and goodness; and so he also gave up Theism. Of course the argument in the Analogy would have no effect upon an unbeliever in the existence of an all-perfect God. While

intelligent Christians will always be ready to give reasons for the hope that is in them, which reasons, according to the laws of evidence, ought to convince even sceptics that Christianity is from God, there is an argument which the humblest Christian can give which, we are sure, cannot but commend itself to the conscience of even a professed unbeliever—the argument of a holy life which owes its origin and continuance to the omnipotent grace of God.

II. But while those who have lapsed from Christianity in the class to which we have now referred are very influential on account of their ability and position, their numbers are limited as compared with the other class mentioned above, viz., those who could not give any intelligent reason for not obeying Christ's commandments, but who, from various reasons, practically reject his authority. They have got out of the way of availing themselves of the means of grace, whether in public or in private; it may be that they are living lives which their consciences tell them are inconsistent with reading the Bible, with prayer, with attending God's sanctuary, with partaking of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

We know what temptations there are in India for men to give up even an outward profession of religion. We are told by city ministers at home, how many people who were regular in attending Church in a rural parish, cease attending a place of worship in large towns; one reason being that they do not know any minister or Christian friend who will take an interest in their spiritual welfare; they feel as if in their new place of abode there is no one who cares for their souls. Had they but received a letter from their own clergyman to a clergyman in town, or from some Christian friend to another Christian friend, they would at once have joined themselves to some Christian church, and their habits of church attendance would have been kept up; but feeling everything strange, with no one to bid them welcome to the congregation of God's people, they have got out of the way of going up to the sanctuary.

Similarly a good many of our young men coming to this country from home, knowing not the minister or other Christians who would give them the hand of Christian friendship and do everything in their power to retain them under good influences, not unfrequently act as they see others around them acting, become careless and indifferent, and contract the habit of never entering a church door. We find this taking place in stations where there are regular means of grace; but the temptation to our young men to lapse altogether from a profession of Christianity is much greater in out-of-the-way stations where there are no churches, no ministers, no meetings for service, even on the Lord's Day. Sunday is just the same as Monday, and we find not unfrequently that when they do come to large stations, the non-church-going habits they have con-

tracted elsewhere still cleave to them. Then the constant Sunday work on the railway is most detrimental to spiritual life. Men are out with their trains on Sunday; being absent from God's house once, has a tendency to make the privation of not being there less felt next Sunday, or when they do come home in the afternoon, they feel very tired and think that they require physical rest more than going to church, and therefore they do not go in the evening, and thus by degrees from less to more the habit of non-attendance in church has become quite confirmed.

It is true that the question of Sunday labor, which is confessedly so detrimental to the interests of vital religion among our railway employés, is not to be settled by an off-hand expression of opinion; but still we cannot help saying, that we have seen so much evil effect of it upon the spiritual interests of those who have come out from home, bringing with them certificates of church-membership, bearing a good Christian character, but who, in course of time have become almost heathen in practice in consequence of their constant work on Sunday, we always feel bound to oppose to the utmost Sunday labor. Granting that our mail trains should run, we would hail the day when it was announced that goods trains were no longer to run on the Sabbath. We understand from those who, from their practical intimate acquaintance with the working of Indian railways, are well entitled to be heard on this subject, that this is quite feasible. But this further should be said, that Christians should not travel on the Lord's day when they ought to be in the house of God. There is far too much, on the part of even professing Christians, of starting on the Saturday evening, travelling all Sunday, to be ready for secular work on Monday. It should also be impressed upon Christians not to engage in unnecessary Sunday labor at all, as is too often done by those who attend church most regularly. We in India require to have strongly impressed upon us the duty of remembering the Sabbath day to keep it holy. We might also refer to the sins of intemperance and sensuality which alas! are reasons in too many instances why so many professing Christians have lapsed from a profession of Christianity; but the limits of this paper forbid. However, in passing, it may be remarked that one of these sins, intemperance, is not nearly so prevalent among railway employés as it was some years ago. Probably there is no body of men who are more exposed to the terrible heat of the hot weather than the railway employés, and yet there is no body of men among whom the mortality in the last few years has been so little. This low rate of mortality could not exist were intemperate habits to prevail among those who are so much exposed during the hot season. But to return from this digression: we must say a few words regarding some instrumentalities which might be employed in reclaiming those who have thus lapsed.

1. Ministers must make their churches attractive; we must show every one who comes that we are glad to see him; we must give him not chaff, but good wheat in our preaching; we must make not only the preaching but the other portions of the service attractive; our devotional exercises should be reverential; our praises such as it becomes us to present to the God who filleth heaven and earth with his glory. Mr. Somerville has shown us ministers that the faithful earnest preaching of the Gospel will attract people. Let us realize our responsibility, and when people come to church, even though it be out of mere curiosity, let them feel that there are those in the pulpit who know what they are speaking about; that they are not speaking at random, not speaking what costs them no trouble to prepare, but that they are giving their very best, that as taught by God's Spirit they are really declaring what is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness.

There is no doubt also that occasional evangelistic services, conducted by an able minister in an undenominational place (like a theatre), induce men, who would be most loth to enter a church, to attend the preaching of the Word, and when the ice has once been broken, their consciences it may be having been pricked by the truth being so forcibly brought home to them, it may be a saving change having been effected in their hearts, those who were formerly quite careless may feel it to be a privilege to go up regularly to God's house.

2. Like our blessed Master, we ministers should go to *seek* those that will not come to us. Dr. Chalmers used to talk of the glorious work of "excavation"—of digging out of their houses those who had become quite careless and godless, and striving to make them living stones in the temple of God. Formerly in a home parish where ecclesiastical divisions were almost unknown, it was very plain sailing for the parish minister to use his influence to induce those who had lapsed to attend the means of grace in the parish church. Where eccleciastical divisions prevail, we should be careful not to interfere with the field of labor of Christians of other churches; but when we see men and women as clear as daylight continuing to walk on the broad way which leadeth to destruction, it is our duty faithfully but courteously to warn them of their danger, and to urge upon them the duty of seeking the Lord in his appointed ordinances by attending some Christian church, it does not matter which, where the gospel is faithfully preached. From personal experience we can testify that not a few of our countrymen who had become very careless, when we visited them in their rooms, conversed with them, enquired from what part of the country they came, who was their minister at home, impressed upon them that it was their bounden duty to serve God in India as faithfully as they had done in Scotland, and that the great privileges they had enjoyed at home

would increase their condemnation if they did not act as Christian men here and prayed with them at parting,—they promised to come to church, and most faithfully they kept to their promise, and we trust that some availing themselves of the means of grace gave true heed to those things that belonged to their eternal peace.

3. But it is not merely Christian ministers who should be Christian workers, private Christians can do a great deal in reclaiming those who are lapsed. Ungodly men are always apt to suppose that it is part of their profession as pastors for clergymen to speak to them on religious subjects. But when Christian laymen in the spirit of Christian wisdom and love entreat them to be reconciled to God, tell them from their own experience what a blessed book the Bible is, what a privilege prayer is, how happy they are in Jesus being their portion, in the assurance of their sins being forgiven in Christ's cleansing blood—when they may sit down in their house and read God's word, and pray with them or invite them to a prayer meeting or a Sabbath service, then we not unfrequently find that those who would be inaccessible to ministers are won over to the Gospel by the humble, earnest, persevering, loving efforts of Christian laymen.

4. The consistent life of professing Christians is a grand instrument for reclaiming the lapsed. Most of our readers have doubtless heard of the wonderful moral influence that Sir Donald Macleod exerted over those with whom he was associated, and no doubt it was owing in a great measure to his consistent Christian life, that there was seen the noble spectacle of so many Christian men occupying such high positions in the Panjab, and delicacy only forbids our speaking of a similar instance in the person of one who in the N. W. Provinces for more than thirty years was a living epistle of Christianity.

Now let every professing Christian in his own special sphere be a Sir Donald Macleod. Let not ungodly, careless men ever have it in their power to say that those who attend church on Sundays and week days so regularly are not a whit better than those who do not make any such high professions. While Christian precept and example should go hand in hand, not putting asunder what God hath joined together, a thousand times rather would we have a consistent Christian man who may not speak a word with his lips, but who speaks with his life of humility, prayer, charity and faith, than a man who might speak with the tongues of men and of angels about spiritual things, but whose life we do not say is altogether of the earth, earthy, but which is marred with many imperfections, though he may have the root of the matter really in him. Let us be consistent Christian men and women, and consistency in Christian character cannot but influence even the most careless.

5. Christian people must prove the power of prayer. They may not be able to speak to a careless man, but they can always pray for him, and the effectual prayer of a righteous man availeth much. If God's people in India were to exercise the faith of the Syro-Phœnician woman, in earnestly, perseveringly, believingly praying in behalf of their countrymen who, alas! are the servants of the great enemy of souls, can we doubt but that they would obtain a similar answer,—" Great is your faith, be it unto you even " as you will."

Art. V.—THE KARENS AS A RACE.

By Rev. E. B. Cross, Toungoo, Burma.

THE Karens as a race of people, since they have been known to Europeans, present many peculiarities worthy of notice and of record. The questions of what the people are in comparison with other races; their modes of living; their clans and dialects or varieties of language; their religion or their superstitious beliefs; their ideas of justice and government; their reception of the Gospel, and its effects upon them; their present condition and their ideas of education; what they are capable of intellectually; and what they are likely to become,—are questions which would be interesting in regard to any people. But these questions have an unusual interest in regard to this people.

The Karens are undoubtedly a very primitive race, although in some of their tribal varieties they show evidences of mixture with other races. In this respect we seem able to detect traces in some instances plainly marked, of mixture with Shans, Taliens, Burmans, and even Madrasis or Hindus. These last, however, are not so plain or well defined; but in a few cases they are so distinct as to give the observer a strong impression of the fact. This supposed mixture with some of the dark-skinned tribes of the Asiatic Aryans, has been frequently stated by the more intelligent and learned of the Karens, who have had opportunity to observe.

In regard to the origin of the Karens, and their settlement in this Indo-Chinese Peninsula, it is difficult to form any conjecture. It is known that the races along the Brahmaputra, east of the Ganges, and between the gulfs of Siam and Bengal, all have a general similarity, and must belong to the same stock, so far as the prevailing type is concerned. This general type is determined by the physical characteristics of the people; and especially by their

language, as being monosyllabic or *nonformative*, as that word is understood of the Indo-Germanic tongues. But this aboriginal type does not seem to be confined wholly to this Peninsula. There are evidences of the same type in Southern India and more or less through the whole Indian Peninsula. It is plain that the races now ruling India, are not the primitive races; and it is also plain that the previous races have a stronger resemblance both in language and physical peculiarities, to the natives of this coast. "All these "races are distinct from the Hindus who belong to the Indo- "European, or Aryan stock; and they were spread through the "countries which they now inhabit, though perhaps thinly scattered, "long before the ancestors of the Hindus first passed the river "Indus. Their languages, so far as known, are in construction "quite distinct from the Sanskrit and its sister idioms. Several of "them . . . . bear in this respect a greater resemblance to the "languages of the Tartar nations." *(Prichard).* The marks of this Tartar and Turanian type may be nearly overborne on the Western Coast, yet both on the Eastern and Western Peninsulas, the physical and lingual types show that the original waves of immigration, from the same source, broke upon these more southern borders. It was most likely first upon the West, and then upon the East. This would seem probable from the more complete obliteration of the type on the West. Yet this may be accounted for, by the fact that the new waves of people on the West were of a very different and more aggressive race. There is no doubt, however, of the fact that successive and more powerful waves than the first were felt on the East as well as on the West.

There is also a marked difference between the Eastern and Western parts of the Indo-Chinese Peninsula. Beginning from the middle, the appearance is as if two waves had met and mingled together, or as if in the prism or the rainbow, two colors formed a third one between them, and themselves appear more distinct as they recede from each other, into their own proper field. Thus beginning with the Chinese on the East, and the Hindus and kindred races on the West, the Arrakanese and Taliens meet with the Chinese, Shans and Karens.

This blending is seen not only in the physical peculiarities, but in the languages of the people. The blending however is not true to geographical limits, but rays of one part have shot deep into the territory of the other; so that unexpected shades of color, peculiarities of physical form, as well as harshness or softness, and other peculiarities of speech, are found in regions far from their natural home. This is no doubt the result of petty colonizations, or of individual wanderings, either of the Aryan races among the Mongolian or the reverse, as the case may be. Aryans are now pressing in great numbers to this coast. They take waves of the native Turanian races, and an intermediate or mixed race is constant-

ly being produced. This process is now greatly facilitated by the form of government and the greater ease of voyaging, but the same must have been going on for ages past to some extent, and the results must have been new races of people, and modified forms of speech. Petty colonization and intermarriage have carried these differences of race far beyond the medium lines of contact on both sides. It is plain that as a race the Karens have been affected in this way, and yet it is probable they have been less affected than the other intermediate races; for though living more remote from the Chinese, as the extreme line on the East, they resemble the Chinese more nearly than the tribes which occupy the country between them and the Chinese.

From this general view we may turn for a moment to the question whether the Karens, from whatever source they sprung, are the *aborigines* of this country or not?

That the Karens are the aborigines of the part of this Peninsula which they now occupy, has been disputed and argued against, *(F. Mason in Burmah)*, but, we think, without good reason. The name given the Karens by the Burmese, as a word, means simply *aborigines*. This shows that they have been so regarded by the Burmese from a great antiquity. Besides this, they have the habits of aborigines, in the sense that well known aboriginal tribes have to the peoples who have supplanted them.

And a greater argument than either of these, is of a similar nature to the second. It is a fact established in history, that if a people migrate in considerable numbers, to take possession of another country, in which they afterwards long remain a distinct race, they either take possession of an *uninhabited* country, or take it as conquerors. If they take the country as conquerors, they become the dominant race. There is no instance in history in which a barbarous or savage race has taken possession of the country of a civilized race, unless the civilized race have become effeminate by luxury and crime, and have so degraded themselves as to become vastly inferior to their conquerors. But in this case the natural order is that the savage or barbarous race, although they have physically conquered the civilized, because physically their superiors, do nevertheless adopt the laws and customs of the civilized race, and generally their religion, unless they conquer as religious fanatics. We see no reason in these general rules of history, which does not go to prove that the Karens have been conquered, and pushed aside, by races more civilized and powerful than themselves. They have not to any great extent adopted the religion or the customs of their conquerors; nor have their conquerors adopted any of their customs. This is a sufficient proof that the Karens have for ever been a despised race, and their customs regarded as unworthy of imitation by the races who have conquered them, and pushed them back from their original possessions. We think there is no alternative but to regard the

Karens as the aborigines of the country. Their traditions, retained in distinct and original form as they are, also show that they have never been a civilized or literary people, or a conquering, or even a greatly migratory or wandering people. Either of these causes, especially the former, would have perverted and exaggerated their traditions, and destroyed their simplicity. A civilized people does not retain oral traditions. The history of their past is either written or forgotten. The network of civilized society, the unnumbered events and interests of the present, shut out the past; so that its stories are forgotten or are exaggerated by the works of imagination. Oral traditions will only be retained in their distinctness and simplicity, by a people whose present interests and events are less important than their past, or are only equal to it. If the present or the immediate past becomes more important, the remote past is forgotten. So that we are led to regard this Peninsula as the home of the Karens from an exceedingly remote period of the world's history.

But their traditions throw light on a phase of this subject beyond the simplicity and distinctness with which they have been retained. Their physical characteristics, as now seen except in some of the more degraded specimens, connect them as we have seen, with the Chinese. But it is not only physical characteristics which unite the two races. We refer to what seems to be original tradition on both sides, which points to this primitive connection. First that of the Chinese: "Originally the Chinese, according to "their own histories or traditions, were a small herd of roving "barbarians who wandered about the forest of Shensi, at the foot of "the high mountains of the Tibetian border of China, without "settled dwellings, clothed in skins, ignorant even of the use of fire, "feeding on insects and roots, more destitute even than the Bush-"men or the Australian savages." *(Prichard.)* The Karen tradition as found among the clans at the extreme distances of their present dwelling places, and among those showing extreme distances from each other in their habits and customs, represents much the same thing: "The Karens and Chinese in two companies, as elder and "younger brother (the Karens the elder) wandered together from "the west. The journey was long and continued for a long time. "The two companies were finally separated as the younger brother "went in advance of the other. The company of the elder brother "being deceived by the sudden growth of the wild plantain tree, "which had been cut down and shot up in its centre, ceased to "follow, and founded cities and a kingdom of their own. But "were conquered and scattered by others who followed them from "the same quarter, from which themselves came."

This tradition is consistent with facts so far as they are known; and it is reasonable both to connect the Karens with the Chinese, and to regard them as the aborigines of this Peninsula.

We may now pass from the idea of their origin, to a stricter view of the people themselves.

The Karens are different from the Chinese, but not so different as most other races with whom they mingle. They almost totally lack the almond-shaped eye, opening with the oblique angle of the Chinese. This may show what we have already noticed, that the Karens, like most of the other races of this Peninsula, have been modified in their present generations by contact with the Aryans of the west. They are plainly a very primitive type of the Mongolian family, but they differ among themselves in many things almost as much as they differ from other races of the stock.

The Karens when found in a savage state, differ but little in their habits of life, from other savages. They are degraded and cruel. They seem to place but little more value upon human life than upon the life of brutes, where the question of killing is concerned. They are extremely indolent so far as regular work is concerned; yet their mode of living compels them to very hard work for some months of the year. The women are far more industrious than the men, who seem to have to be forced to work by the simple necessity of food. They were never cannibals so far as known, but there is nothing so loathsome or disgusting as not to be food for them. Caterpillars, snakes and lizards are eaten by them without hesitation. In a savage state they preyed upon one another without pity or consideration. In this way they became segregated and broken up into nearly as many warring parties, as there were villages or chiefs. They attacked each other as if in an endless state of warfare, and yet no chief became powerful enough to add the country of his neighbors to his own. Feuds among them were rarely settled except by the extermination of one party by the other.

As they were first found by the missionaries in Toungoo, clans and warring parties often consisted of single villages. Sometimes two or more villages were in league, but chiefly because they were of family kindred. Alliances were rarely extended beyond such family relationship. The paths leading to every village were beset with traps; spears or sharpened bamboos, were fixed in the ground in concealed places, to wound the feet of an aggressor and prevent his approach. The houses of the people were all built as if constituting one house. In this way, when attacked, they were ready for united defence, or prepared to make their escape together. Their suspicion and fear of one another took countless forms, and extended to every feature and manner of intercourse. If a village was visited by an individual of another village or by a stranger of any kind, the proper signal of approach must be given before entering the village, or the visitor was taken for a spy or an enemy, and subject to death as such. The same precaution must also be taken in leaving the village, after

having been received and entertained. The retiring visitor must leave with the consent and the fair understanding of the chief, or forfeit his life as a consequence. The rule was that he would be followed and assassinated, and it was generally put in practice. This custom subjected the first missionaries, who were Karens, to the most serious difficulties and dangers, in their first visits.

A feud was sometimes settled as follows: Two champions of the contending parties were brought to a deep stream of water. They both sunk their heads under the water. The man who rose first to recover his breath, was taken to be the guilty and the conquered party. He and all that pertained to him became the property of the other party, and the question was for the time regarded so settled. Sometimes, when a captive was taken, he or she was delivered by a friend. The custom even now remains among the clans where robbery still continues. The captive calls out the name of some individual, either present or absent, as his champion. The obligation to send for the person so called for if absent, is regarded as sacred; and the obligation to obey the call is equally sacred. The champion appears in the midst of his enemies to espouse the cause of the captive. The result is generally a compromise. Superstitious fear makes the power of such a champion nearly absolute. It sometimes happens that a fine is imposed by the champion on the captors (as being the party at fault) which is paid, and the captive permitted to return to his house.

The savage Karens have nothing which can strictly be called cultivation of the soil. Every village owns in company the lands which surround it, for a distance of five or six miles. Within this circle the village confines itself, but shifts its position every year or two; first to get rid of the intolerable vermin, which infest their old position from their filthy habits, and also to get nearer the part of their circle from which they expect their rice crop. When their position is chosen, the whole village with few exceptions unite in cutting and lopping the reeds, bamboos, and the small trees and branches of large trees. This is done in January or February, and sometimes in March. In April fire is set to this dried material, which springs almost instantaneously into a sea of flame. The ground in a few hours is cleared of nearly every combustible substance. The ash and coal are left to aid in the growth of the expected crop. But with the crop springs up a growth of weeds and the sprouts of trees and bamboos, which render a second crop in successive years impossible. A few yams, small patches of sweet oil seed or cotton are planted, which will mature before the ground is again swamped by the wild growth. This wild growth is cherished and allowed to occupy the soil from five to seven years, because the thoroughness of clearing the ground, and the success of the next crop, depends upon the wild growth. It is as much a crime to set fire to this jungle growth at a time when the fire would spread,

as to set fire to a neighbor's house. Many of the most deadly and bitter feuds arise from carelessness or design in setting fire to the uncultivated lands. The person who, from accident or intention, causes fire to spread over the field to destroy its wild growth, must pay whatever fine is levied upon him by any man who is injured by the act, and is disposed to impose the fine. This fining is often the result of some previous feud or enmity, and is generally exorbitant and unmerciful. It must however be paid, but it does not end the strife. A fire is kindled which burns in interminable acts of revenge and counter-revenge, apparently increasing in intensity, as it increases in its circle, and takes in a greater number of elements of enmity and bitterness.

There is a great similarity in the dress of the people, as well as in their houses and modes of obtaining a living. Their dress is however varied by imitating the dress of other races, as the Burmese and Shans, but rarely by any alterations which originate with themselves. The Karen man's dress consists of a sack which he draws over his head. A hole is left for the head to pass through, and on the sides holes are left for the arms. This is the only garment strictly their own. The Bghais or northern Toungoo Karens, add to this sack drawers which extend downward to the middle of the thigh. The wearing of drawers of this kind, has but a limited field. It is nearly universal with the Red Karens, and their neighbors. The sack dress of the man is varied in color ; some have various figures and devices wrought in the lower border with the needle. Others have wide red and white stripes extending the whole length of the garment. Others have a narrower stripe around the garment. The dress of the man as well as of the woman, is in some sense a mark of distinction in tribes and clans, as well in the color of the sack, as in the color, form and size of the drawers worn by the men.

The dress of the woman except in case of the wildest and most savage of the clans, is in keeping with a strictly modest nature. It consists of two heavy garments, by which the whole person is covered. The upper of these garments resembles in form the sack of the man, and is often beautifully ornamented with needle-work. This sack reaches below the knees, and has another under it, which comes from the waist to the feet. In districts where silk is cultivated, the woman's dress is ornamented with silk. They have a fancy for the brightest colors, especially for red, various shades of which they manage to color with a good deal of skill. In districts where they do not cultivate silk, the women ornament their garments with the seeds of different species of the sorgum, which have the appearance of beads. These as well as the silk threads, are wrought into the fashionable forms and devises of the clan or tribe.

Unlike most other savages the men seem to have no grotesque or fantastic habits of dress. They content themselves with the

simple dress above described, and indulge in but few efforts at decoration. On their feast days the most they attempt in the way of ornament is to adorn their ears and turbans with gay colored flowers, as various species of the amaranthus, and the marigold *(Tagetes.)* These they cultivate with their rice crop, as if for the purposes of ornament, in this way. The women of the more civilized clans have nothing unsightly or grotesque in their dress. The greatest approach to this is seen in the Pwo race, who, above any others, indulge in cilindroid blocks of colored wood, in the lobe of the ear. These are sometimes so large as to appear absurd. The women of the north, however, especially those belonging to the clans of the Pwo race, adorn their necks and legs with coils of thick brass or leaden wire. These coils often fill up and crowd the whole length of the neck, and render it impossible for the wretched creature to turn or bend her neck, in any way. The weight of these coils, both on the neck and legs, is sometimes too great to be credited as a statement of fact, and makes it wonderful either that they should be worn, or that the miserable woman who does it, should be able to do anything else.

The Karen woman does not, by her native habits, indulge in floral ornaments so much as do the men; those only do this who have come under the influence of the Burmese. They make less attempts at show of any kind, at their festivals, than do the men; and this seems to be the result of an innate modesty, which we think distinguishes them as a race, above any other under similar circumstances of which we have any knowledge.

The clans or tribal distinctions among the undoubted and doubtful Karens, are too many, and for the most part, too unimportant to be followed or taken notice of, in such a description as we now have in view. Many of the distinctions which are recognized as worthy of being printed, are doubtless more dependent on the little which is known of the people referred to; and the different names given them by other people whose languages are different, than they are owing to any real difference in the Karens themselves. The general habits of the people are the same, although they have many conventional customs, confined to small sections of country.

There are, however, two distinctions of race at least, which seem too primary to depend on the difference of name given them. These two distinctions seem to be preserved throughout all the twenty or thirty differences of tribes, which are supposed to exist, so far as now known, in the Karen race. The types of this distinction are best seen in the Sgaus; and Pghos, Shans or Pwos, as the latter are differently called. These tribes are distinguished in the first place physically; and again especially in the pronunciation of their language. A few words on the physical side of the question may suffice.

The average Pwo man, is about five feet four to seven inches in height, with broad, square shoulders; broad face in the front; darker

skin than the Sgau. His limbs are large and heavy. The calf of the leg is remarkably large and well formed. His weight is about 130 pounds. His whole frame indicates muscular strength. The nose is short and considerably flattened at the nostrils. The eyes are large and prominent, but not oblique. The eye-brows and eye-lashes are long and dark colored, and give a striking feature to the whole face.

The average Sgau is a little taller than the Pwo, and his weight a little less. His shoulders and pelvis are narrower. The limbs not so thick and more inclined to length. The face is narrower, and the lips thinner. The eye-lids prominent, but also without obliquity. The eye-brows and eye-lashes of the Sgau, are not so striking a feature as with the Pwos. These physical differences, seen in these two tribes perhaps at their best advantage, carry themselves through the whole race, and are found everywhere to corroborate the testimony given in their language, to this primary distinction of the people. The Bghais and other clans or tribes, which we should be inclined to class with the Pwos on account of their language, we should also have good reason to class with them, on account of these physical resemblances; and the same would be true on the other hand, with the Sgaus.

But we may consider the language in a word as a separate testimony.

Like the Chinese and most of the Turanian languages, a word in the Karen becomes an entirely different word, according as its vowel is pronounced with a different accent or inflection. The inflections are five in the Sgau and six in the Pwo. The sixth in the Pwo, however, does not seem to be of the same nature with the rest. Its office seems to be rather to produce euphony than to change the word into another. The Sgau language is exceedingly smooth, and hence comparatively feeble in all other elements of euphony, except that of smoothness and *softness*. It has but very few *nasal* or *ng* sounds, whereas the Pwo abounds in these sounds, and in this respect exceeds any of the other Turanian dialects which we have heard spoken. Although as heard from the natives, the Chinese and Shan languages abound in these *twangs* or nasal sounds, the Pwo seems to have more. But as the *twang* is uttered more from the throat, as we have it in *long*, it does not become a disagreeable sound, as it has no resemblance to the sound uttered by persons who are said to talk through the nose. It does not approach that sound, even like the much flatter twang, of the Shan and the Chinese. But it is the use of this sound which enables us to trace affinities through the great varieties of Karen speech; and to know their lineage even more distinctly than from their physical peculiarities. There are other elements of sound, both of vowels and consonants, which are widely different in different dialects, but these have not passed from one class to another, and hence show that they are mere con-

ventionalism, and must have a later origin in respect to the race. Some of the dialects are extremely and heavily guttural. But as a general thing, this naso-bronchial sound (if we may use the expression) is only an excess of one of the elements of the nasal sound, as it is called. It is the guttural sinking lower in the throat, without wholly losing the nasal element. So that it is easy to see that the dialect is a corruption of the Pwo, which has the two elements in fine balance, and only gives the sound an excessive use, as an equal compound, or as not having one of its elements excessive over the other. Other clans are found to adorn a large class of their words, by strengthening the vowel with a *y*, or *yapin* sound, which gives an unpleasant angular pronunciation to a great majority of their words.[1] Others have an excessive *f*, a sound which is otherwise wholly foreign to the Karen language. The *p* seems to have degenerated into an *f* without the proper difference in the use of the lips. We have an *f* with the lips formed for the use of *p*, and an unnatural and disagreeable sound, is produced. This sound is however now despised and dropped by the more civilized of the clans who had used it.

But throughout the different clans or tribes, the use of the naso-bronchial *twang*, has become a line of demarkation, by which a hereditary lineage may be traced. The Sgau language has no word which ends with a consonant sound, nor have any of the numerous dialects of the tribes which we should be likely to class with the Sgaus on account of physical peculiarities. The Pwo confines itself in this respect, entirely to the nasal consonants, but it chooses to end nearly all of its words with this sound; and the same inclination adheres to every variety of dialect which otherwise seems to belong to a people of the Pwo race.

With all this difference of pronunciation, however, which so tenaciously holds itself good through such a number and variety of dialects, it is a remarable fact that the Karen language is everywhere essentially the same. The structure and idiom and the primary or root words are much the same. The great exception is the pronunciation; and in this we have the fundamental distinction which enables us to classify the whole by the Sgau and Pwo races. All other distinctions seem to depend on petty isolation, and on no more than family likenesses. Each neighborhood has excluded itself from the rest, and cultivated its own peculiarities. These have been retained, and exaggerated or modified, within the narrow limits of a clan or a few villages. Originally they depended upon the pronunciation and the use of words of a single man, or two or three brothers or relatives, who isolated themselves by a very limited migration. This appears from the fact that nearly all the villages or towns retain the name of the founder. His peculiarities of speech cleave to his posterity, as his name does to his clan; and

[1] Illustrated by Cyow for Cow.

only the root-words of his original language are retained. The whole becomes fixed by isolation and inheritance; and peculiarities of speech become united with hereditary physical peculiarities, and are equally numerous.

The classification of the Karens into two races, meets with some difficulty in the case of the Red Karens, and a few wild tribes which join them on the north and west; yet we do not regard the difficulty as insurmountable, or as equal to the difficulty of supposing there were originally numerous distinct tribes or races, who came to adopt the same language and traditions. The Red Karens were found more civilized and united in strength and under chiefs of more extended dominion than any other tribe of Karens. They cultivate their land with more skill, build better houses, and are in every way more enterprising than the other tribes, as originally found by Europeans.

Although they had no books in their own language, and their tongue had not been reduced to writing, they had in their possession some sort of writing or inscriptions on plates of metal and of ivory. The inscription of the metal plate has been copied by Rev. A. Bunker, missionary appointed to the Red Karens, by the American Baptist Missionary Union. The writing on this plate is unlike any known language, ancient or modern. There are resemblances in some of the characters, to characters in some of the Aryan languages of the west; but it is impossible as yet, to refer it to any one of them; or to decipher its meaning. Yet we must suppose the inscription has a meaning, and is a *bonâ fide* relic of some past age and of a language once in use.

The Red Karens should, as a whole, be classed with the Sgau race, if with either of the two which we have supposed to be nearly original. They have, however, been modified more than any other by intercourse and mixture with races which are not Karens. The chiefs or *Sankwas* (kings) as they are called, seem to be unlike the common people. They more resemble the Shans and Burmese, from whom they have evidently derived their lineage to some extent. As a race the Red Karens, with a number of their neighboring tribes, are suspected of having a mixture of Aryan blood. This is inferred by the more learned Karens from their language. It might also be strongly inferred from their physical peculiarities. The common people are taller, *rounder* in their bodily form, have darker colored skin, and are more active and enterprising. This mixture of blood, and slight mixture of language with Aryans, from some part of the Western Peninsula, might have been effected by means of the Salwin river, which connects the Red Karen country with the coast by a distance of 200 or 150 miles. The fact that the intermediate country is inhabited by pure Sgaus, might be against this idea, and yet might not render it futile, for as we have seen the extreme races have shot into each other's territory. The Red Karens

consist of a number of tribes, most of whom are, without difficulty, classed with the Sgau race. Their principal peculiarity of language, aside from a generally altered pronunciation, is the excessive use of a *y* or *yapin* sound, which as we have remarked above, they attach to a great number of their words.

Having remarked upon its characteristic tribal distinctions, it remains for us to speak of the Karen language as a whole. We can give no space to the opinions of others, which have been expressed on this truly interesting subject; nor can we enter fully into details in speaking of the language. The most we can attempt is to characterize the language as a means of speech.

If there is any such thing as infancy in human language, we may conceive of a very small and feeble beginning, with little more than the names of a few external objects at command. Soon the necessity of adopting speech to number, time, contingencies, and marks of action, person, gender and case, would be felt. There could be but two distinct ways of meeting this necessity. One would be to invent new endings and beginnings for the words in use. The other would be to invent separate words which would be ready always to apply to these necessities. The former of these methods would produce the Aryan languages; and the latter the Turanian. There might be languages which, either originally or from the pressure of intercourse with others, would imperfectly adopt both methods, and hold a doubtful place between the two. This method would result in languages like the Semitish and the English, and other European monosyllabic languages. At whatever time it may have been, however near the very infancy of human speech, the Karen adopted the second of our methods, and has never corrupted it. This is almost a miracle of history, since it is almost the only known language of which this can be said. The language itself therefore, to say nothing of the people in other respects, affords a field of study, well worth more than the general and cursory investigation which we can here give to it.

The Karen language is rich in lost words, far beyond what should be expected from an unwritten tongue. It is said, in the number of its roots, to equal the Sanskrit, and to be nearly equal to the Chinese. Its use of *phonocamptics* or inflections, which we have seen are five in number, enables the language to increase its roots by a multiple of five; and to multiply with ease the number of its words. A good vocabulary of the language has been published in Sgau; and the native thesaurus, from which the vocabulary was compiled, has also been printed. This constitutes four thick 12mo vols., and contains the native literature, that is to say, the traditions, legends and myths of the people. These were gathered under the influence of the missionaries soon after the language was reduced to writing, from all quarters and from a great variety of persons. This method of collection had its advantages for the time

as being in reality more rapidly fruitful than any other method, but it necessarily multiplied myths and stories, as well as supposed roots of words. This was inevitable from the fact that all words and stories were thus written by persons who were ignorant of analysis as well as of spelling; and stories had become distorted from their original form, as well as language and dialect, by the segregation and isolation of the people. Grammars have also been written principally in the Sgau, as this language for many years, was supposed to be far more important than the Pwo; the latter was only regarded as belonging to a mere clan of very limited numbers and extent.

The Karen strictly has no conjugation of verbs, or declension of nouns, yet by means of *adjunctive* words and particles, it readily performs all the offices of speech, with accuracy and neatness. These adjunctive words express case, gender, number, as well as time, person, contingency, intention, command, euphony, in fact all that can be expressed by the wholly different methods of the Aryan speech.

It is plain that the Karen language has a very simple origin of the monosyllabic type; and that its philosophy of development and construction was extremely limited. It is also plain that it has retained its simplicity and narrowness of philosophy, more completely than any written language could possibly have done. The Burmese language, for instance, seems to have been formed on exactly the same type, but led by religion, civilization and literature, it has mingled itself with the Aryan, and taken up many of the usages of that form of speech. It has also under the same influence indeed become a noble language, but has corrupted itself in its own sphere, so as almost wholly to have lost the original office of its inflections, and the simplicity of its construction. The Karen, by remaining unwritten, could not pass through any of this process of alteration; and hence has remained nearly true to its origin, and the narrow philosophy on which it must have been founded. This renders it a witness, perhaps more reliable than can anywhere else be found, of what must have been the original type of the Turanian tongue, as distinguished from the Aryan or Indo-Germanic.

The primary law of growth and development of the Karen language is that of *adjunction,* or combination without *formation,* which is the law of the Aryan languages. It may be true that the same law pertains to all languages which are called monosyllabic, or are regarded as belonging to, or approaching, the Turanian type, yet we doubt whether another instance can be found of a language which has remained so true to its own philosophy as this. Certainly none of the European languages of the same type have remained pure in this respect. All more or less combine both methods of growth and development. Prepositions and particles are united with words and become *parts* of the word itself, and a new word is thus formed which may have a new or a modified meaning. But in

the Karen, the new word or particle is added to the *idea*, and not to the *form* of the word.

The nearest approach to declension in the Karen is found in the use of the personal pronoun. Necessity, or it may be a borrowed law, has to be admitted in this instance. Yet, as in the English, where it is called declension, a separate or different word is used to express number, case and person ; I, we, thou, you, are all different words. We have for case, me, us, thee, you. Here it is true we have an entire different root for the person, number, and case, as we see, and this may be a relic of Turanian origin ; and if the language had not been overborne by languages of the Aryan stock, the idea of declension might not have obtained. But this simple paradigm constitutes the whole extent to which declension is to be found in the Karen. Answering to the above words and forms, we have in Karen *y* for *I* ; *p* for we ; *n*[1] for thou ; *thu* (thew) for you. And for the oblique case we have, *ya* for me ; *pgu* for us ; and *thu* for you. That is, the form for *you*, as in English, is not necessarily changed for case. The Karen, however, has the power of changing the form of this word for *you*, into a great number of forms. We may have, then: *thu waí* ; *thu wai thay* ; *thu wai thay tapah tyu waí da thay ta pah*. Either of these forms answers the same purpose, so far as grammar is concerned, and the difference of meaning is slight.

We cannot proceed beyond a few examples to illustrate the law which we conceive to be almost the only law which suffices the Karen for its grammar and rhetoric ; or as a means of development and growth, viz., the law of *Adjunction*.

As it appears in rhetoric we give but one or two examples more, leaving the whole field of grammar to take care of itself, only with a reference to what we have already said, viz., that a word whose form is fixed for the purpose, is placed somewhere in the sentence, before or after the word to be modified, either near it, or farther from it, which enables the sentence to fulfil any requirement of grammar, which any language can demand.

To give some idea of the growth of the language in euphony, we will add but one word, to what we have said of the personal pronoun, *thu* or *you*. But it may be borne in mind that each pronoun is capable of similar alterations as the above, and for the same purpose.

We will take the conjunction *wherefore*, in the different forms in which it may be used, with only slight variation in its meaning. We have *ma yony* ; *matha-yony* ; *ma-tha-yony-dau* ; *ma-a-tha-yony* ; *ma-a-tha-yony-dau* ; *ma-a-tha-yony-th-ta-dau* ; *ma-a-tha-yony-th-ta-k-la-dau*. Either of these forms would answer the purposes of grammar, but word is joined to word, each of a similar import, to suit the taste or the convenience of the speaker.

[1] In all these it is the simple element as when beginning the word.

This is indeed a wonderful facility and richness of power to alter by joining word to word. The sense is modified by the different combinations, but the modification is too subtle if ever intended, to be of any importance to a common speaker, or hearer. It is easy to see that a monosyllabic language in this way becomes incumbered with syllables, beyond most of the Aryan tongues, which have given the greatest scope to their words in this respect.

But this accumulation of separate words has a still more important use in meeting another necessity of speech, that is the necessity of expressing general ideas, and abstract thoughts. Originally the Karen seems to have had no word for a general idea. For instance, they could not have conveyed the idea which we understand from the word *vegetable*, vegetable kingdom, mineral, or metal. Every thing had its own name, and none were grouped; none of these ideas which are so familiar to us, were primarily provided for, nor have they ever been fully met by the language. But the law of adjuncts, enables the language to approach this duty by grouping general parts. For instance, we have *thay* for tree, and *wah* for bamboo. These words are joined by an adjunctive particle, invented for such a purpose, and we have *thay ho wah ho* for all vegetables of the tree and bamboo kingdom; but another couplet connected by the particle *ho* would be required to express the idea of all grasses; and so of grains, and so forth.

In the expression of an abstract thought the same narrowness of original power is apparent. The language could express the idea of *like* and *desire*, for both these might be mere animal impulses for food or for other material objects. But when the idea of *love* was to be expressed, the language had only its simple law of adjunction, to meet the necessity. Other languages could borrow of a neighboring tongue words which at home in their own speech, might express nothing more than like or desire, but when borrowed, as in the case of nearly all our religious words in the New Testament, the new idea could easily be attached to them, and ever after be fully expressed by the word. But the Karen from its isolation, or from some other cause, depends upon itself, and combines the two words *like* and *desire* or *crave* by the use of the particle *ta*, which placed before any word, turns it into a noun. We have then *ai* for like, and *quee* for desire or crave, which are both verbs unless they have the *ta* before them; but putting the whole into a couplet we have for the word *love* "*ta ai ta quee*" and the separate meanings of the two words produce a third, which is the abstract idea of *love*, as near as the language can express it, and perhaps as nearly as it has ever been conceived by the people. This process of expressing abstract thought could be illustrated by every word of this kind which the language contains.

This law of adjuncts is seen to govern the whole language. In nothing is it more clearly seen than in the use of cou-

plets. The Karen language abounds in couplets, above any other. All of the Turanian and Semitish languages, of which we have any knowledge, abound more or less in couplets. This is especially true of all the languages of this Peninsula. But in the Karen, almost without exception, every word has its mate. Generally each word can be used by itself, and has an independent meaning. In some cases only one of the words has an independent meaning, and is only used in connection with the other.

The couplets serve a number of purposes. One is to give roundness and fulness to the sentence. Another is to fix the meaning of the word, or to leave no doubt of what word is intended, and thus to remedy the evil of bad pronunciation, as the meaning of the word depends upon exact pronunciation, and there is so little distinction in the sounds, a remedy for mistakes must be provided. This is done by joining a word of like import, to the word used. There is no danger of mistaking the couplet for the wrong sound. Another use of the couplet we have already seen in the ability to express general ideas and abstract thoughts. In this case two words are joined by the particle *ho* or *ta*, and a third meaning is obtained, which expresses a general idea, or an abstract thought as the case may be.

These uses of the couplet are fundamental, and illustrate the philosophy of adjunctive words. Another use is found more in common with the other Turanian and Semitish tongues, viz., the use of couplets in poetry. All the native poetry of the language is expressed in couplets. The idea is repeated in two lines, which are a couplet strictly *poetical*, and independent of the other uses of the couplet, which must everywhere have their distinctive office.

As a closing remark we may say that the Karen readily goes the way of all other languages, under similar circumstances. It seems in the condition in which it was originally found, to be as near a *fossil* language as it is possible for any language to be. If it were possible to entertain the notion of an ante-deluvian people, independent of the family of Noah, both the language and the traditions of the Karens, would point them out to be such a people. Their distinctive traditions have retained with any peculiar distinctness only antedeluvian events; and their tongue retains perhaps uncorrupted, the difference of philosophy, which the first separation of the human family might have occasioned. For the human family in the earliest period of its history, was separated into two very distinct parts, the *Cainites* and the *Sethites*.

The Karen has been a written language less than forty years, but already its philosophy has become confused and corrupted. Foreign words for various purposes have been introduced without regard to its law of growth; or the simplicity which it had retained with fond tenacity, through so many generations.

We have still left for our consideration the traditions of the people; their religion or superstition; their receptiou of the Gospel and its effects upon them; their iutellectual abilities; and their prospects for the future, which we must defer for future notice, or leave untouched.

Art. VI.—MISSIONS IN INDIA—WHY NOT MORE SUCCESSFUL.

By Rev. John Hay, M. A., Waltair.

PUBLIC attention is persistently directed to the failure of modern Christiau Missions in India, as if it were an acknowledged fact. The allegation is usually met by an appeal to statistics which exhibit a few myriads of nominal adherents in a population of some 280 millions. Much allowance, it is thought, should be made for the circumstances of the couutry. The Hindus are a peculiar people. Pantheism, similar to, though not identical with, that which some seem to think is about to supplant Christianity in the West, has, for many centuries, been the basis of all religious thought, moulding the speculations, blighting the affections, staggeriug the hopes, dulling, if not obliterating, the conscience of all classes of the community, from the highest to the lowest. We offer Christ and salvation to the ruined sinner, rest to the weary and heavy laden, peace to the troubled conscience, pardon to the guilty, redemption to the slaves of sin. It is all *Maya*, illusion, the playful effort of divine energy, with which, *if we can but think it,* we have no individual concern; we aud our *egoism* being but part of the sport of the " One-without-"a-second." Let us at once admit that to convince such a people of sin, of righteousness, and of judgment, the putting forth of divine power is peculiarily requisite. Still, that admitted, we are not then freed from all responsibility, arising from our being in possession of that which is, if anything ever can be, the power of God unto salvation, to every one that believes it. One may not be able to cure the leprosy of another; but if he has himself been cured, he is responsible for the use he makes, or does not make, of that fact. It is still an open question, whether we have presented to the people of India God's revelation of himself iu relation to man, so simply, purely, and fully, that we may well wouder they have uot received it. To say uothing of the large proportion of uncleansed lepers among us, that pretend to be under His treatment of whom we preach as one mighty to save, there may be other elements of weakness, even in

our preaching. The apostles and first evangelists preached Christ, and could speak confidently of his saving grace and power. Miracles, it is usually assumed, we need not expect to see now; but the believer's testimony concerning what, "looking unto Jesus," he has found accomplished in his own soul, may be as well fitted to promote the salvation of others, as would be the sight of the most stupendous miracles wrought in the natural world. Has such testimony been clearly and steadily kept before the people of India? Perhaps not.

Again, we have got into the way of expressing our evangelical sentiments, very much in the language of scientific theology. We have become so accustomed to this, that, among ourselves, it may convey true doctrine, without much admixture of fatal error. We speak of merit, of meritorious obedience and sufferings, of the payment of our debt, of the satisfaction of justice, of our surety's having endured the *punishment* of our sins, and of sacrifice for sin. Without denying that these expressions may, *to us*, fairly represent truths of great importance in the method of salvation, one may doubt whether they convey to the people of India the meanings which we associate with them.

Not long ago, the writer found in a vernacular tract the question put by a Hindu; "What did God think when he found that our first "parents had disobeyed him?" etc. And the answer, put into the mouth of a Christian, is, "He was enraged against them, and in-"stantly cursed them." This is not the way in which the gospel of the grace of God was ever brought to the notice of men by Jesus Christ himself, or by his apostles. The pronouncement of a curse by an enraged divinity, followed by a device to evade the necessity of inflicting it, has nothing in it from which an orthodox Hindu need revolt. It does not come into collision with his own doctrine of *Maya*; but it will not help to commend to him either the love or the righteousness of God. "God's justice," we have told him, "is the "great obstacle to his forgiving our sins." Therefore Jesus "volun-"tarily took upon himself and endured a fearful punishment, in order "that he might appease the offended justice of God." "He bore upon "earth the penalties which we, as sinners, deserve to endure in hell." The story of a king who first enacted that he who transgressed a certain law should lose *his* eyes; and then, when his own son was the transgressor, he evaded the execution of his own law by inflicting one half of the penalty on the actual culprit, and the other upon himself, would seem, from the frequency with which it is told, to meet the approval of many Christian teachers. The Hindu cannot see it. His immediate reply is, the law did not demand *two* eyes, but that the culprit should lose *his*. How then was it obeyed? That the father should be willing to lose one eye to save his son from total blindness, may be regarded as a token of his love to him; but the law was evaded, not honored, while the breaker of it was but partially saved from the penalty he had incurred.

Instructed by the history of a typical people with typical rites and parabolical, if shadowy, representations "of good things to "come," we have learned to speak of those "good things" in the language of the parable; and we are prone to take it for granted that those whom we address, understand it equally well. It is remarkable that in none of the examples of apostolic preaching that have come down to us, is any mention made of sacrifice. And indeed, if such an elaborate and complicated ritual as the Levitical was needed to prepare the way of the Lord, it would seem unreasonable to expect that the phraseology of that grand prefiguration, should be intelligible to those who had never heard of it. What knowledge of redemption was ever imparted to the heathen of any country by telling them that Jesus had been made a *thusia*, a *bali*, or a *sacrifice* for the sin of the world?

Once more, the language of truthful illustration, darkens the the truth when it is stretched beyond the point which it is intended to illustrate. The effect of the payment of a debt may serve to elucidate the freeness of gospel grace; but when it is turned into an exposition of the plan of salvation it may become the occasion of falling into grievous error. Bankrupt though he is, man, in the pride of his heart, naturally seeks salvation, through the merit accruing from the performance of good deeds. It is well to show the folly of such expectations based on the merits of any sinful, ruined man; but is there no merit in sinless action? are not the blessings of salvation righteously bestowed, only when granted on the basis of merit somewhere? This, again, puts the grace of God on a footing which his own word does not seem to recognize. Meritorious obedience, meritorious suffering, meritorious righteousness, are much dwelt upon in the language of modern scientific theology, but occur no where in the writings of prophets and apostles. Much of the figurative language of theology that has grown up among Christian people, has been accepted and held its ground unchallenged, because it was used in the illustration and defence of what had already become articles of faith. Such an unquestioning reception of new doctrines, conveyed in the language of those illustrations, by those who dispute their truth, cannot reasonably be expected.

Those who regard the parable of the prodigal son, and his reception by his loving father, as evidence that there is nothing in the way of a returning sinner to call for an atonement, are fairly answered when reminded that a parable is not designed to express all that may be related to the subject which it illustrates; but those who remind them of that, should not themselves forget that the same principle is applicable in the interpretation of other parables and prefigurations. Had this been duly thought of, the Gospel would not have suffered as it has done, from the influence of the parabolic ritual of the Mosaic law. One thing seems certain; when the well-

instructed pious Israelite, burdened with the consciousness of guilt, sought forgiveness, and the restoration of the joy of salvation, he did not have recourse to the blood of bulls and of goats to obtain them. The law was instructive; but not the means of salvation. Certain actions, regarded as occasioning defilement, excluded men from a local, visible, worldly sanctuary. Ordained rites of atonement removed that defilement, so that the sinner, thus cleansed, might take his place in the congregation, as if nothing had ever occurred to exclude him from it. Nothing was thereby intimated as to his moral or spiritual condition. The holiest man in the land might become parabolically unclean; and nothing but the parabolical atonement could cleanse him so that he might enter the sanctuary. In like manner, the vilest in the land, remaining spiritually in the gall of bitterness and the bonds of iniquity, might be, parabolically, as clean as the holiest. Some more than others may have seen in all this, the promise of better things to come—things spiritual and substantial. The prefiguration might suggest to them, that, as men are separated from God by sin, and cannot enter his holy place and live, he would yet open the way by some mysterious death, and spiritually cleanse the sin-confessing sinner. Whether he could understand the *rationale* or not, the Israelite knew that, when the blood was drawn and sprinkled as the Lord had commanded, he was free from defilement, and might, without blamable presumption, enter in. And just so is it now; whether or not the sinner can understand *how* the blood of Jesus Christ cleanseth from all sin, he has the assurance that in him "we have redemption through his "blood, the forgiveness of sins;" and that, believing on him, we shall never come into condemnation, but "have passed from death "unto life."

But if the elaborate ritual of the Mosaic dispensation was needed as a preliminary to the introduction of what is spiritual and substantial, how is the Gospel to be introduced among a people who have not had the advantage of such previous instruction? Are not the Hindus now just such as all the world would have been without the knowledge of Judaism? What has taken place in their case to lessen the difficulty of introducing them to the higher spiritual life? The Christ, the Son of God, has come, and saves his people from their sins. Instead of mere instruction through commandments and ordinances, we have now the dispensation of the Spirit, the outward and visible facts of salvation. Following conviction of sin, of righteousness, and of judgment, we have, and, looking unto Jesus, *know* that we have access by faith into the presence of God, and are enabled to cry, "Abba, Father"—"the Spirit itself beareth "witness with our spirit that we are the children of God." That walking in the light of his saving grace, righteousness and love, "we have fellowship, one with another;" and that "the blood of "Jesus Christ his Son, cleanseth us from all sin," are facts declared

in the Gospel, made manifest in the experience of all believers, and seen in their lives, lived by the faith of the Son of God, who loved them and gave himself for them. It is no answer to this to say that, the lives of millions of Christians (so-called) give no such evidence of the reality of their salvation. They are not believers; and the sooner they are made to understand this, the better—better for themselves, better for the Church, and better for the world. They do not even pretend to have been brought to Jesus, by any sense of sin, or hungering and thirsting after righteousness; or to have ever believed in him for the remission of sin, and the sanctification of their lives by communion with him.

There is a reality in sin, and in salvation from sin. How are these two facts—sin and salvation—to be brought home as realities to the conscience and the heart of the people of India? Here we have to deal with a people whose whole being, thinking, speaking, and acting, has for twenty centuries been steeped in pantheism; not the modified materialism which western scientists now call by that name. More philosophical than these, their predecessors in the science (?) of cosmogony, did not begin by postulating the existence of phenomenal matter, but of spirit. The universe is regarded here as, in one way or another, the outcome of divine thought—the whole material of it being the temporary isolation of portions of the Supreme Spirit, then called *jevátma,* the spirit or breath of life. In this, with *maya,* illusion, as its "environment," they "discern the "promise and potency of every form and quality of life." The one existing being or thing, projects on this "environment" of illusion, the phantasmagorial appearance of what we, in our ignorance, call the outer world. Isolated in this more or less translucent cage, the tiny, hapless spark of divinity becomes self-conceited, and acquires the false notion of its separate existence. This makes it regard the shadows which omnipotent thought makes to fall on its "environment," as its own, or closely related to itself; and the game is for it, so circumstanced and bewildered, to see through the trick practised upon it. The moment it does this, and can utter the famous *aham Brahmasmi,* I am Brahm, the world to it is no more; it is liberated and loses its isolation as a drop of rain when it falls into the boundless ocean. Say not this is too metaphysical, too complicated to exert much influence over the masses of the people. The whole of their religious vocabulary is framed upon it. All their hopes and fears are expressed in language derived from it. It has almost eradicated all sense of personal responsibility and guilt. A Hindu's sense of responsibility to God, is much like what one feels in playing a game of cards or chess, when he has played a wrong card, or made a foolish move. Whatever trouble may now overtake him, he regards as the payment of penalty for blunders committed in a former birth; while blunders, which we call sins, in this life, will lie over for expiation by sufferings in the next: and this

process may go on for countless ages before the desired absorption crown the attainment of the long sought knowledge. This is the genuine pantheism. That which is "environed," and illuded is divine; and the whole process of illusion is the action of divine energy. "The world by wisdom knew not God."

The remedy for all this, is the Almighty's revelation of himself in Jesus Christ. Disquisitions on the attributes of God, the government of the world, the settlement of the relative claims of justice and mercy, or arguments based on *our* ideas of infinity and eternity, merit and demerit, punishment and reward, have little power to restore a sense of sin in the dormant conscience, much less to assure the alienated heart of the love of God. For this Christ crucified is the power of God and the wisdom of God. The root and venom of all impiety is this, we do not think of God as feeling, hating, loathing our sinfulness and misery. Christ is God revealed to man so that we may know him, know him as the holy, sin-hating God—know him as love, and "rest in his love." In him we see how "it "repented the Lord that he had made man on the earth;" how it had "grieved him at his heart;" and how he has reconciled the world to himself. It is not, therefore, a matter of small importance whether we preach Christ simply as he is set before us in the word of God, or teach men our theories of the philosophy of the plan of salvation.

Since the days of Anselm, in most theological dissertations on the problem of man's salvation, the atonement has been regarded as an expedient to make the pardon of sin "consistent with the honors "of the divine government"—"a full and perfect satisfaction to the "honor and justice of divine government in pardoning and saving "sinners."[1] "An expedient substituted in the place of the literal "infliction of the penalty, so as to supply to the government just "and good grounds for dispensing favors to an offender."[2] A way in which "forgiveness may be extended to the guilty, so as to satisfy "the claims of infinite justice; and to provide in the pardoned "sinner for the interests of holiness."[3] This expedient is supposed to have been found "in that satisfaction for sin which was rendered to "God, as the moral governor of the world, by the perfect obedience "unto death of our Lord Jesus Christ."[4] "A pacification of God's justice "by giving him a ransom to balance the offence done to him by sin."[5] "The endurance of the penalty of our surety."[6] All these definitions take it for granted that "the supremacy, holiness, justice, and vera-"city of the Most High" were opposed to the extension of pardon and mercy to those who had once sinned, even were it possible to bring them to repentance in the brighter light of the knowledge of God. Even should the prodigal come to himself, and under a sense of his sin and misery, and with confidence now in his father's righteous-

[1] Dr. Pye Smith. [2] Dr. T. W. Jenkyn. [3] Dr. Wardlaw.
[4] Dr. Payne. [5] Dr. Brown of Haddinton. [6] Dr. Eadie.

ness and love, return to him, justice would interpose to forbid his being received. Righteousness, truth, and good government demanded satisfaction as an indispensable preliminary to the acquittal of the transgressor, apart from all consideration of his repentance and reformation. This demand of justice cannot be waived or set aside. God is just, and may not either withhold from any man his due, or refrain from demanding what is due to himself. Suffering for sin is a sort of debt we owe to offended justice, to which, therefore, our peace and happiness are in a manner forfeited until the debt is paid. That we should ever pay it, is not to be expected; for all the pain we can ever endure is such a trifle compared with the amount due, that it would take an eternity of torment to clear it off. Justice, however, is not supposed to be absolutely inexorable. It is supposed that if one of transcendent rank and excellence, owing no such debt himself, perfectly obey and adequately suffer in the room of the disobedient, he may thus "merit" an acquittal for any number of them. This it is thought the justice which demanded their punishment as being what they *ought* to pay, cannot ignore or refuse to accept on their behalf. This theory postulates too much. Is it true that the punishment of the sinner is the most acceptable amends to justice for his sin? If it is so, how can the obedience and sufferings of *any other* be accepted instead of it? Justice does not ask *that*. Justice demands that the *soul that sins* shall die. Will it be satisfied with the death of one that has not sinned? And what is merit? One may do what he likes with his own, and may, therefore, most truly satisfy the claim of his neighbor's creditor; because all that the creditor wants is to get his money or a full equivalent for it. So if the law, or justice, say that for disobedience a certain amount of pain must be endured by some one—no matter by whom—one might endure it for another; but the law emphatically says, "the soul *that sins*," not, that of some other, "shall die." The merit of one cannot cancel or negative the demerit of another. Deservedness is from its very nature intransferable.

Again, on this view of redemption, the divinity of the Redeemer seems to be unnecessary. Why might not any holy being be sustained in life, and receive permission to suffer adequately for others, and lay down his life that he might take it again, and become their Saviour, if the simple payment of assigned penalty were the desideratum?

Others, however, have taken up a different position, and base their view of the necessity for atonement on what has been termed the rectoral aspect of divine justice. Something is needed which shall have the same power to condemn sin, deter from its repetition and sustain the character of Jehovah for righteousness and holiness, as if the sinner himself were made to drink the fulness of the cup of his indignation. Some of the preceding objections may with equal

force be urged against this; but that which most fatally tells against it, is the principle which it ignores, that the evil of disobedience is not demonstrated by the amount of suffering which it entails upon the transgressors, or which the lawgiver may attach to it. Sin is condemned, and its evil character demonstrated, not by what is done on account of it to the sinner, but by the way in which it affects the Holy One himself against whom it is committed. Hell itself is not the truest or fullest damnation of man's sin. If Jesus is the incarnate Word of God, God manifest in the flesh, then what sin caused to him is its truest exposure and condemnation; and becomes the basis of reconciliation between God and man. If two are agreed, they may walk together; otherwise they cannot. That in his holiness and righteousness, God is altogether lovely—that his purposes towards man are purposes of irrepressible love—that sin is damnable, and most truly damned by the tears and the bloody sweat, the agony and the broken-heart, the sympathy and forgiving love of Jesus, in whom, and pre-eminently in his sufferings and death, God is made known to man,—is the revelation of God in Christ, the unveiling to human view of the very mind and heart, the feelings, emotions, and affections of the Father of our spirits. When this is seen, believed and brought to bear on the distrustful, rebellious, alienated heart; when God thus seen in Christ becomes the object of adoring love and gratitude, the atonement is received, and the believer's rest is now in the fulness and faithfulness of the living, loving God. No demand of law or of justice is here ignored or unsatisfied. Being justified by faith, we love him because he first loved us. The point from which this great reconciliation can be most truly seen and savingly felt is that of "the word made flesh"—God in Christ—the life, death, and glory of Immanuel.

I like, replies one, the unhesitating way in which you assert and exalt the doctrine of our Lord's divinity; but you seem to me to ignore his meritorious obedience, his sacrificial death, and, in fact, the whole substitutionary character of his work. "The Lord hath laid "upon him the iniquity of us all." "He was made sin for us." "I "believe that by virtue of Jesus Christ's death, I have myself paid the "law its due, satisfied divine justice, and found reconciliation with "God." "If you have seen all your sin punished in the person of "the incarnate God," etc. "All His saints rendered unto justice "what was due, and made an expiation to divine vengeance for all "their sin."[1]

But what saith the Scripture? The idea of merit, meritorious obedience and suffering in connection with redemption is foreign to the word of God. It is a purely heathenish idea, and the Bible knows nothing of it. Theologians have introduced it as a link between what Jesus did and suffered, and the benefit accruing therefrom to the believer; but it is an invention of their own; and seems to mili-

[1] Mr. C. Spurgeon.

tate against the doctrine of our Lord's divinity. Beyond the peculiar, special, and transcendentally glorious mode of manifestation,—the Son of man, there is nothing in the life and sufferings of the Son of God, but the verities of Jehovah's eternal and unchangeable being. In every tear that he shed, as well as in every word that he spoke, there is a revelation of what is eternally in his Godhead. There is too much reason to fear that our conception of the Gospel has suffered deterioration from contact with this heathenish and Romish doctrine of merit. Human merit, of course, is nothing; but an idea prevails that, from the union of the divine and human natures in the person of our Lord, all that he did must have a meritoriousness that does not belong to what is merely human. He was, it is alleged, under no obligation to obey the law, much less to endure its penalty; and, on that account, both his obedience and his sufferings have a meritorious character. "Without controversy, great is the mystery "of godliness." Man was made in the image of God; and that image in its perfection is seen only in the man Christ Jesus—the express image of the invisible God, so real, true, perfect, that he who has seen Jesus, has seen the Father—not a man *and* God whom he reveals, as two persons united in one; but one God in the form and fashion of a man—not thinking, or feeling, or in any way being affected differently from God; but in all things verily "God mani-"fest in the flesh." If there was in Jesus Christ any thing personal, essentially characteristic to which there is no corresponding reality in the Father, the living and true God, then he, Jesus, is not in himself the Holy One, the unchangeable Jehovah. While, "in the "form of man," he was "of the seed of David," "in the Spirit of "holiness," he was, in the truest sense, the Son of God. In him the development of manhood, was the development of God's revelation of himself. When he laid down his life at the commandment of the Father, do we recognize only the action of an obedient man? Was not that also essential to the revelation of God in him—not God exacting, but God holy, loving, compassionate, circumscribed in action by the law of eternal love, the law of his own unchangeably holy being—obedient to that law even to bearing in righteousness and love the burden of man's sinfulness and misery. "The Word "was with God; and the Word was God;" and the Word having become incarnate, Jehovah laid upon him—the manhood manifestation of God—the iniquities of us all. No relation in which the creature man can stand to God can make that man's obedience in bearing the sins of others, a true atonement for those sins. Jesus Christ is God; and, therefore, in bearing he bore away the sin of the world.

In the language of Scripture, one is said to bear iniquity, transgression and sin, when it occasions him grief, pain, or trouble; and the sin of man did occasion grief and pain to the compassionate heart of the living God; and this could not but appear in the Word made flesh, Jehovah revealed in human form. Thus "was he made

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"sin for us," "One died for all." "He suffered, the just for the "unjust." The heart-breaking agony endured by the righteous, holy loving Jesus, when he bore the sorrowful burden of man's sin, most truly damned it, and "opened the kingdom of God to all believers;" for the sufferings of Jesus have their counterpart in the mind and heart of his Father. Without that, that true fulfilment of sacrifice, that ransom price, that revelation of divine agony, that sin-damning revelation of righteousness and love, we see not how redemption from sin could ever have been accomplished. Fully to set forth this great truth, all language is feeble. To arrest attention and suggest thought, instructive parables and prefigurations may be employed; but in their interpretation, one must be careful not to over-strain them beyond the point they are intended to illustrate. A ransom is a price in consideration of which a captive is set free; or it is the procuring cause of freedom. Christ dying for us and for our sins is the sole procuring or efficient cause of the believer's freedom from sin, past and prospective; and may, therefore, in strict propriety be spoken of as the ransom price, that which breaks the chain and sets the captive free. The point illustrated is deliverance; and the price is that in consideration of which, or by the power of which, sin is made to let its captive go; and that is the precious blood of Christ, the sufferings and death of Immanuel. Nothing is gained here by personifying *justice* as the captive holder which accepts the death of the innocent and consents to regard it as a suitable compensation for the escape of the guilty. In that case justice would surely set the captive free, or demand some satisfaction for his detention. If the ransom has been paid to justice, is it justice that still holds the sinner in bondage? Or has the price been paid for the mere privilege of breaking off the chains, should he who paid it so determine? It looks like that; but, as we have already remarked, types and illustrations must not be pressed too far. If justice is not the jailor, sternly holding the sinner to his chosen sinfulness; if the ransom price is not literally paid to that, whatever it be, which does hold him, the use of the figure is fully justified when the sufferings and death of Jesus believed and contemplated, are in reality the power which sets the captive free, and brings him back to God, to his father's heart and home. So many types, emblems, and illustrations of the various aspects in which it is profitable to regard the redemptive work of Christ are in use, that we must be careful not to let our interpretation of one darken the meaning of another. The redemption of the sinner is his reconciliation to God in faith, love, and obedience. Salvation in its fulness may be defined as the impression made for eternity on the heart and life, the vital influence exerted upon the whole spiritual being of the believer in Jesus by the revelation of God made in his life, sufferings, death, and resurrection to glory. Reconciliation supposes some point on which two have been at variance. God is right, and we are in the

wrong. When we are made to see and feel that, when the righteousness and love of God shine into the heart, as they only shine from the face of Jesus Christ, and *these* damn our sin, reconciliation is effected; the soul is redeemed from the dominion of a lie, the enslavement of sin, the whole baneful result of the reproach it had taken up against God.

By some the sole object of the sufferings and death of Jesus, is supposed to have been simply to prove to us, or, as it were, seal to us the love of God, to melt our hard hearts, and so constrain us to love him in return for his unspeakable love to us. It is true the love of God is *a priore*, a perfect condemnation of man's sin of unbelief, distrust and disobedience; but the manifestation and proof of that love in conflict with man's sinfulness, involved, it would seem, a palpable revelation of what our sin is,—not metaphysically what it *must* be, but what in fact it is to God. It is the righteous, loving heart in communion with God that demands to see in the God-man, all that intolerant aversion from sin, that loving grief on account of it, of which it is itself most painfully made conscious in its own holiest moods—just in fact that damnatory feeling towards it which it is believed was expressed in the heart-breaking agony of the man Christ Jesus. "That I may know him, and the fellowship of his "sufferings."

God is the ever blessed God in being what he is; and no creature can be truly blessed, but in having fellowship with him. What higher end of creation can be imagined than the accomplishment of God's purpose to reveal himself, and have that revelation truthfully regarded, and lovingly appreciated? So far as this world is concerned, the only being capable of so appreciating it, is himself the most perfect embodiment of it, as it was said, "Let us "make man in our image." The sinfulness of man, is the wreck and ruin of the noblest work of God. It is at once the obliteration of the divine likeness, and a weakening of the power to discern the extent of the calamity. It were well if man's ignorance of God were the mere absence of knowledge; but he is intelligent and active, and "walks in darkness." In such a case, "the power of darkness" is a terrible reality; for the sinner must continually come into conflict with the righteousness of God, and suffer distress, while he blindly and madly follows his own inclinations, in opposition to the determinations of the Almighty. All nature, within man and without him, proclaims that there is no peace for any that are at variance with God. That, call it wrath, or abhorrence of sin, or what you please, is simple justice, the inviolable harmony that pervades the whole purpose and the manifold operations of God. If, while fulfilling the desires of the flesh and of the mind, our hearts condemn us, it is because he is greater than our hearts, and knows all things; but if, while our own hearts are divinely inspired to condemn our sinfulness, had the word of God.

God revealed, God with us, appeared *only* loving, pitiful, kindly repairing the damages done by our sin, comforting the sinner by smiles, and loading him with unsought benefits, as if all that has befallen us were mere misfortune for which we are in nowise responsible or blameworthy, our reconciliation, in faith, love, and holiness, would, under such treatment, have become an impossibility. Two *cannot* walk together, unless they are consciously agreed. If the spiritually-minded and pure in heart, looking back on former sinfulness, had no other revelation of the character of God than what such treatment of sin furnished (which is an absurd supposition), the heart's demand would become painfully urgent to see in him something more in accordance with divine perfection, more in harmony with its own deepening hatred of sin and all unrighteousness. But now, first in the sin-caused sufferings and death of Immanuel Jesus, and then consequently, in the godly sorrow of all his saints, who have his spirit and live in fellowship with him, sin is effectually condemned; God and man are reconciled. In the absence of such condemnation of sinfulness, *on either side*, salvation in reconciliation were impossible. "O the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and knowledge "of God! how unsearchable are his judgments, and his ways past "finding out!"

Thus it appears that sin having once entered into the world, suffering was inevitable—suffering as when the transgressor brings evil upon himself or inflicts it on others by his evil deeds; and suffering on account of all that, as when Jesus beheld the doomed city and wept over it. What God demands, what the conscience of every enlightened man is framed to demand, and what in the revelation of the righteousness of God, can never be dispensed with, is not the infliction or the endurance of a certain amount of pain, but the effectual condemnation and destruction of man's sin. Even in hell, though the worm die not, and the fire be not quenched, sin will never be condemned as it was by the sufferings it caused to Jesus, the Son of God; for the consequences of sin to the sinner can never be a full and adequate manifestation of its nature and desert in the sight of God. An unrighteous despot may torment those that offend him; but "Jesus wept." Not what God does to the sinner; but the revelation of what our sinfulness is to God, how he stands affected by it, is the truest and most effective condemnation of it. What our sinfulness was to Jesus, that it is in its own nature, that it is to God, and that it is to all who have the spirit of Jesus. A man is holy, sensitively holy, in the degree in which sin is offensive to him. The holy One hates it with a hatred, feels its offensiveness with an intensity of revulsion from it, such as human nature could not experience, and survive the shock. How has that been made apparent? It broke the heart of the holy, loving, blessed Jesus.

In almost every aspect of it salvation is attributed to the blood of Christ. Are we redeemed? We have redemption through his

blood, the remission of sins according to the riches of his grace. Are we justified? We are justified by his blood, and shall be saved from wrath through him. Are we cleansed from defilement which debarred us from having communion with the holy One? The blood of Jesus Christ cleanseth us from all sin. Were we far off? We are made nigh by the blood of Christ. Were we enemies? We are reconciled to God by the death of his Son, whom "God set forth to be "a propitiation through faith in his blood." We shall not err in regarding such language as sacrificial, if we are careful to distinguish between the earthly type, the parable in which it originated, and which had to do with what is outward, material, and visible, and that which is inward, spiritual and divine. Our thought, our will and affections are wrong. They are not at one with the mind and will of God. Distrust of him who made us, whose we are, and whom we ought to serve, self-will, selfishness, waywardness, and all the noxious progeny of unrighteousness, constitute the defilement of every mortal man. The odor of the dead is around us. Guilty fears, sinful apprehensions, groundless dislike of the ways of God, degrading suspicions of him who is love, and the author of all true love and joy, the subjection of the soul with all its noble faculties and affections to the desires of the flesh and of the mind—such is the bondage from which we need to be set free. There can be no happy fellowship, where there is intense love and desire to be loved on one side, and selfishness, cold apathy or alienated affection on the other. Change there must be, but not in God; for his love and righteousness are perfect, eternal and invariable. This is the basis of all true religion. Man must be turned to God; and yet in all systems of religion devised by men, the chief aim and effort seems to be to produce a favorable impression on the mind of God. Hence the place assigned to sacrifices, penances, charities, deeds of righteousness, prayers and almsgiving. God is angry; we must do something, or give him something to propitiate him. He is not favorably disposed towards us; we must work upon his feelings, and show that we are not quite so bad as we might be. He is not quite kind; we must lay him under some sort of obligation to us. He gives grudgingly; we must present some inducement that may have weight with him, if in nothing else, at least, in penitential tears and prayers and self-denial. Of such sort is the whole brood of vain imaginations which spring from the unholy heart in its alienation from God, and serve to perpetuate that alienation. But God is love, and aims to make us understand and feel that he is so. He is holy, and wills to make us partakers of his holiness. He is righteous, and in giving his only begotten Son, seeks that we may be made the righteousness of God in him. God is light, and he desires that, in his own pure light of truth and love, we may see him as he is, and, walking in that light, have fellowship with him.

"The world by wisdom knew not God;" and, in its efforts to devise a divinity for itself, would exclude from its idol alike the joy of benevolence, the sympathy of love, the sorrow of grief, the burden of displeasure, and the abhorrence of evil. But the God and Father of Immanuel is not such a one. Let the Eternal speak for himself, and of himself. "It repented the Lord that he had made man, and "it grieved him at his heart."[1] "What could have been done more to "my vineyard, that I have not done in it?" "My heart is turned "within me, my repentings are kindled together." "As I live, "saith the Lord God, I have no pleasure in the death of the wicked." "O that men were wise!" "When he was come near, he beheld "the city and wept over it—O Jerusalem, Jerusalem."

We will see God—we will find out the Almighty, say the wise, the sophists among men. You shall see him; but as the glory of the sun is seen reflected in the dark cloud that is already discharging itself in torrents of rain upon the earth, you must look for the glory of the Sun of righteousness, in the darkest cloud that ever overshadowed creation; the humiliation, the suffering sympathy, the heart-breaking agony and death of him who was, and ever is, the bright effulgence of the Father's glory. Ponder well that "sore amazement," and exceeding sorrowfulness, with which the holy One of God was oppressed, when he prayed, being in an agony, his sweat the while being "as it were great drops of blood falling to the ground." Weigh well the import of that mysterious utterance, which still reverberates through heaven and earth, and reaches even unto hell—"Father," he cries, as if the accumulated woes of sinful humanity at that moment found expression in the anguish of his guileless, loving, tender heart, "O my Father, if thou wilt, if it is possible, let "this cup pass from me." "If it is possible," says the suffering Redeemer, as he lies there prostrate under the overwhelming burden of our sin and wretchedness in sin. Was all that, the mere shrinking of a timid man, from the death of the cross? Who was the sufferer? A man? Yes; truly a man, but no common man. There was the Word, and the Word was God. He that has seen him, has seen the Father. There we see the burden of man's sinfulness, distrust, ingratitude, alienated affection, iniquity and rebellion, as they affected the loving, love-seeking heart of the Father of our spirits; and there we learn the impossibility of that burden's ever being removed, unless through his manifestly bearing it. "O my Father, if this "cup may not pass from me except I drink it, Thy will be done." The will of Jesus, and every emotion that heaved his aching heart, identified him with the ever-loving, compassionate, and merciful Jehovah.

[1] "It repented, etc." Repentance denotes grief and sorrow consequent on what one has done; but it does not necessarily include what in man usually accompanies it, viz., a sort of regret that the action had not been left undone. In that sense, God does not repent. The creation of man involved, as he knew it would involve, a burden of sorrow upon his love.

In that agony and prayer[1] and holy acquiescence, the grand, awfully glorious truth is declared and sealed with blood, that a righteous loving heart cannot disengage itself from the grief and sorrow which the sin and misery of others, its loved ones, lay upon it. Herein is humiliation! God revealed in sin-burdened, suffering humanity. With Gethsemane and Calvary in view, we dare not say the Almighty Framer of the universe could have "put away sin," without those tears and agony, and the bloody sweat, and the broken heart of the Son of his love. May not the wail of agony from the cross have been sinking humanity's utterance of the solemn truth that even though, as in the case of Jesus, it be free from every stain of sin, human nature cannot endure the revelation of the sin-consuming fire of divine holiness and love, when felt in all its intensity; and, if such things were done in the green tree, what will be done in the dry?

But he overcame the sharpness of death. "My God"! he said, his loving heart at that moment breaking with accumulated sorrows; but his faith faltered not for an instant. He held on to God for himself, and for mankind. "My God"! The victory is won. Well may we love to retain the very words and sounds of that sad, but triumphant cry—"*Eli, Eli, Lama Sabachtani*, My God, My God, "why hast Thou forsaken me?" Why? Because thus it behoved the Christ to suffer and being made perfect through the suffering of death, become the author of eternal salvation to all them that obey him. "Father! into thy hands I commit my spirit." His God is his Father still. "It is finished." He is dead; but the victory is won; and "the kingdom of God is opened unto all believers."

And so he died. It pleased Jehovah to bruise him and put him to grief. The Christ loved us and gave himself for us, an offering and sacrifice unto God for a sweet smelling savor. What Jesus suffered when by his incarnation he became linked to a sinful race; and thus, in obedience to his Father's will, came into conflict with all the disorder, shame, sorrow and death which, by the unchangeably righteous determinations of Jehovah, are the inevitable consequences of transgression; and when love beyond degree sought a rest for itself in the salvation of those who with cruel ingratitude, distrust, and malignity, were resisting it and thirsting for his blood —all that severest of all possible torment, was due to the vehement zeal of divine righteousness and love; and yielded a perfume of the sweetest odor. Love burdening itself with the sinfulness and

[1] Jesus trusted in God and prayed. Has God faith? The faith of Jesus appears in all his life, actions and sufferings. Was there any revelation of God in that—in faith and prayer? What is faith, but the reflection of the calm rest of God in all his purposes, ordinances and arrangements; aye, and in regard to the ultimate disposal of all the sin and misery in the world. And what is prayer, but the heart laying the feeling of its need on the fulness and faithfulness of God—the expression of its rest and confidence in what God is, and in all that he may ordain and do.

miseries of others, love resisted and repelled, yet sustained by zeal stronger than death, is unquestionably the sweetest, loveliest, most glorious sight in the universe of God; and it is most impressively lovely when sorrow also appears most pure, holy, and intense. It was seen in its meridian splendor in the garden of Gethsemane, and on the cross of Calvary. Sorrowless love is pure selfishness, while loveless sorrow is the spirit of despair. We often sing the words, but seldom, perhaps, reflect on the deep import of those beautiful lines—:

> "Did e'er such love and sorrow meet,
> Or thorns compose so rich a crown?"

The richest of all crowns are composed of thorns, when "love and sorrow meet"; but the richest, most brilliant of them all is the Saviour's thorny crown.

Justice is so frequently represented as an adversary impeding or forbidding the return and restoration of the sinner to the favor of God until it has received ample satisfaction in the form of suffering, that it may be well to scrutinize the doctrine somewhat more minutely. It is not, to say the least, the aspect in which the righteousness of God or the value and efficacy of the atonement, are presented in the word of God. Justice accepts no payment, can tolerate no compromise, seeks no satisfaction but the overthrow of all that is out of harmony with it, as it rolls on, an irresistible torrent, through every department of the universe of God. The soul that sins shall die. The claims of justice are met and fully satisfied in the reign of universal law, which cannot be transgressed with impunity by any being. It can harm no one who is not in sin; nor does it require that any one should remain, or be made to remain in sin. The law of righteousness made it impossible for the prodigal, far away, to enjoy the comforts of home in his father's house; but did not forbid him to return, if he would. It is in accordance with its sternest requisition, that those who are at one with God in thought, will, and affection, should be blessed. The reign of righteousness can tolerate nothing contrary to that. Holy fear, gratitude, and love are conditions of communion with the Father of our spirits, which cannot be set aside. It is equally in accordance with the reign of law, the satisfaction of justice, that hearts alienated from God should be in bondage to the devil, the world and the flesh. The law of sin and death is just as inviolable as the law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus; and under it we were held with such a grasp, and in such a manner, that nothing but the life, death, and resurrection of Immanuel could bring the love and righteousness of God to bear upon our bondage, with power sufficient to make us free. Only thus, it seems, in the face of Jesus Christ, could the light of the knowledge of the glory of God be made to penetrate the darkness of spiritual death, and shine in the hearts of ignorant, alienated,

distrustful and degraded men. But, surely, to such a revelation of himself—mighty to save—righteousness could present no obstacle. It had, as it ever shall and ever must have its way with sinners in their sin; and all its demands will be as satisfactorily met when the light of the Gospel of the glory of Christ, the image of the invisible God, shines in them; and the law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus makes them free from the law of sin and death. "In him," who died for our offences and was raised again for our righteousness, *this* law is no longer applicable to their position. It still reigns in purity and unsullied splendor; but it has no adverse dominion over them. It cannot disturb the calm rest of God into which by faith the redeemed have entered. They have found in Jesus the full purport of that blessed name, Jehovah saves. They have passed from death into fellowship with him who is the life, and has said that, because he lives, they also shall live.

Types and metaphors apart, what in reality is it that prevails to make sin, death, and hell, or the devil, the world and the flesh, relax their hold, and liberate the captive soul? Let the experience of all the redeemed answer. They, with united voice, ascribe their victory to the Lamb, their triumph to his death. When we see our sinfulness as it lay on the agonized, breaking, bleeding heart of Jesus, gazing there, we feel the quickening beams of the Sun of righteousness, piercing through the mists of prejudice, delusion, falsehood, deceitful lusts and all the power of darkness; and also feel that "God is love." We can no longer cherish distrust of him who has *so* commended his love to us. Yet had he never lived again, he the victim of our sin, the heart-broken Saviour, what could ever have freed us from the damning consciousness of guilt and shame? But now we hear the voice of love and mercy, more loud than the pealing thunders of Sinai, "Return unto me, for "I have redeemed thee." "Why will ye die?"

In all this no violence is done to justice. "Grace reigns "through righteousness unto eternal life, by Jesus Christ our Lord." Nor is there any room here for the notion of merit. Is there any merit in the branch because being engrafted on the living vine, the sap and fertilizing vigor thereof pervade it and make it fruitful? Any merit in the dry and parched ground, when the rain from heaven falls upon it and fertilizes it? Any merit in the eye, because the light of heaven forms in it an image of the lovely landscape from which it has been reflected? Any merit in the tender heart when the sight of wretchedness and vice excites in it sympathy? Any merit of love, because it bears the burden of another's sin and sorrow? Any merit of holiness, because with painful sensitiveness it shrinks from all contact with impurity? Any merit of affection when a loving father in view of the rebellion and profligacy of a beloved son is bowed unto the dust, and dies of a broken heart? Any merit of thankful joy when the believer, beholding as in a mirror the glory

of the Lord is changed into the same image, from glory to glory, as by the spirit of the Lord? None whatever. Let all that glory, glory in the Lord.

In certain theories of atonement, the sufferings of Jesus are regarded as penalty, or punishment inflicted *ab extra* on account of the sin of mankind; but it is hard to see how, in that case, they could enter into the revelation of the Father in him. In their nailing him to the cross, we see what men are capable of; and in his exposure to such ignominy and agony on our account, we may obtain a glimpse of the long-suffering goodness, the wonderful forbearance, and the compassion of Jehovah. But the question is, what caused the overwhelming sorrow, the amazing agony that bowed him to the earth? Was it, as many allege, the wrath of an angry God, exacting from him on behalf of offended justice, the full amount of penal suffering due by us on account of sin? Or shall we say, as we have heard eminent ministers of the Gospel say, that "at one "tremendous draught, he drank damnation down?" Of what in God, the Father, would that have been a fitting revelation? His power and purpose to torment the transgressors of his law? The irresistible torrent of righteousness, perpetually sweeping through the universe, demonstrates that; and so do the woes of hell, the wages of sin, the perdition of those who will not know the day of their merciful visitation. But what Jesus suffered hell will never know. To be in hell, one must be far from God and far from righteousness; but the grief as well as the love, the sorrow as well as the joy, the anguish as well as the bliss of the Son of Man, were his own as the Word of God manifest in the flesh. We know something of love; and more, perhaps, of indignation and wrath. But who can tell the power of combined love and loathing in a heart divinely sensitive and holy? When we contemplate some deed of foul iniquity, done by one of our race, love, alas! falls back and yields the precedence to wrath; or, if the evil-doer is our own beloved child, love holds its ground and lightens the burden of wrath. In God nothing is imperfect. Holiness and love are equal in power and in glory. Moral turpitude is as loathsome as righteousness is pleasing to the Father of our spirits. To know what the sorrowful burden of our sin was, as it lay on Immanuel Jesus, we must estimate the length and the breadth, and the height and the depth of his boundless love; and we must also know the zeal of holiness that burned within his loving heart. If the Psalmist could say, "Rivers of "waters run down mine eyes because men keep not thy law;" if even Lot, dwelling among the wicked, "vexed his righteous soul from "day to day, with their unrighteous deeds;" if a righteous, God-fearing man who is a father, sees with indescribable grief and pain, the ingratitude, impiety and profligacy of a dearly loved child; what must the sinless Jesus whose love and holiness were alike, each divinely perfect and intense, have felt and suffered? What painful

detestation of sin, what agony of shame, what suffering of sympathy, what indignation of holiness, what hungering and thirsting after righteousness, what fervor of despised and rejected love! To all this mental agony, the oppressive load of human sinfulness, must be added the physical torture he endured at the hands of sinful men, the Roman lash, the cruel slander, the cowardly flight of his disciples whose presence might have been a comfort to him in his sore distress, the thorny bramble rudely twisted and ruthlessly thrust upon his devoted head, the heartlessness of "his own" who reviled him in his humiliation and recalled his acts of beneficence only to embitter the blashphemous taunt: "Himself he "cannot save;" and yet more, added to all this the feeling—epithets here were vain—that all this was the sinful doing of those, his brethren of mankind, whom he loved so well and had come to seek and save, the opposition of man's ungodliness, the character of the race with which, as man, he had become identified. Ponder these things well, and then say was ever sorrow, on earth or in hell, like unto his sorrow? Had he been less holy, loved us less, or less abhorred our sin, his sufferings would have been proportionally less. Had he been less alive to the divine enjoyment of being loved, his grief would have been in the same degree moderated. Why, asks the scoffer, should the innocent suffer for the sinfulness of the guilty? Let it be shewn how He, the embodiment of all that is glorious in holiness and ardent in love, related to us as Jesus was, could have been otherwise than a man of sorrows, suffering with all the intensity of pain humanity could endure, and then it will be time enough to devise some other theory to account for his sore distress, than that to which the consideration of his own divine holiness, purity, and love, has conducted us. Thus did "Jehovah lay upon him the ini-"quities of us all"—even on the Son of Man, whose suffering under the heavy load shall damn the abominable thing which he hates. Who then can the sin-bearer be, but the living God, the man who is Immanuel, God with us? The Godhead of Jesus satisfactorily accounts for the intensity of his unparalleled sufferings; and it is when God is seen in the suffering Redeemer *to be what he is* in holiness, goodness, and truth, a righteous God and Saviour, that the believer confidently rests his whole hope of salvation on his atoning death—not because his death was the payment of our debt of suffering, but because it is the Father's revelation of his own eternal and unchangeable righteousness, holiness, and love. For such an atonement, it was plainly indispensable that the holy sufferer, the sin-bearing Son of Man, should be the true and only Son of God. It is not too much to say that if Jesus, the Word, had not been such a man of sorrows, a peerless sufferer among men, his whole life would have been a denial of all that had been deemed most holy, most winning, most comforting, in the revelations which had inspired the faith and hope of patriarchs, prophets, and saints of old. As Imma-

nuel, God with us, his human life must represent in the only way that human life can represent the loving, pitying, compassionate and merciful Jehovah. He must desire our reverence, gratitude, and love; and when distrusted, despised and rejected by men, he could not be otherwise than a suffering man; and so suffering, his sufferings could not be otherwise than the most complete atonement, the strongest possible condemnation of the sinfulness which caused them. They are consistent who, while denying the true divinity of Jesus Christ, reject also the doctrine of atonement through his blood: but, to be out and out consistent, they ought also to repudiate the whole Bible which is full of both.

As we have already remarked, the most popular illustrations of the atonement are drawn from the payment of a debt, or some evasion of the law as in the case of Seleucus and his son. In a small work on the Evidences of Christianity lately published, it is said that the blood which flowed from the Redeemer's pierced side was to pacify the fiery wrath of God for our sins, while the water was to cleanse our souls from the guilt of sin. Expiation, we are also told, was made by the *merit* of his death, "God commendeth his love to us, "in that while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us." That simple fact, brought home to the sin-burdened heart and conscience by the Spirit of God, has conducted many a poor perishing sinner to the Saviour, who yet might not be able to explain the cause of that mysterious death, or its relation to his own salvation. But when attempts are made to explain it, and the explanations are set forth as the very truth of God to be received on pain of not being saved, they must be met and their fallacy exposed. At the present moment, they are the most effective weapon wielded in India to prevent the reception of the Gospel of Christ; and, it is to be feared, to prevent the entire sanctification of believers. What all need is more of that knowledge of God which his revelation of himself in Christ Jesus alone conveys. That is the power of God unto the fulness of salvation to every one that believeth. To think that one has paid my debt, may be a relief to my mind; to believe that he paid the penalty of death on my account to appease his father's fiery wrath; that he was punished instead of me, that I might not have to suffer—all this may calm my fears and make me in some degree thankful; but O! it is a meagre description of redeeming love and can have but little sin-damning power. The Christ, blessed be his name for ever! suffered for us, but *our sin*, not a rod in the hand of an angry Father, or of avenging justice,—but OUR SIN was the cause of the agony which he endured. He suffered for us, what but for the great love wherewith he loved us, he would not have suffered—not that we might enjoy in loveless quietude and lovely indulgence, the gifts of his love; but that we might become attached to him, be filled with his love and loving spirit, love like him, and suffer with him in holy consecration of soul, body, and

spirit to his service. *If we suffer with him,* we shall also reign with him.

In all his intercourse with men, while yet a man of sorrows and familiar with grief, the Lord Jesus appeared, in his true character, as the revelation of his Father's righteousness and love. A photosphere of love surrounded him, though the darkness comprehended it not. It shone forth in his conversation with the timid Rabbi of Jerusalem; and was not less conspicuous in his dealing with the ignorant and debased woman of Samaria. It sparkled in genial sympathy with the bereaved mourner, and in compassion for the multitude that were as sheep scattered abroad, and without a shepherd. It spoke to the heart of every feeling man in the parable of the prodigal's reception on his return to his father's home; and in the words of comfort addressed to the woman who was "a sinner." It moaned in his griefs and sorrows, and painted the rainbow of promise in many a glistening tear, while it appealed with agonizing earnestness to those who would not know the day of their merciful visitation. It flowed down in streams of bloody sweat, and wrung from the sinless Son of Man, the most piercing cry of distress ever heard on earth or in hell.

Thus seen, and thus only, could Jesus say—"He that hath seen "me hath seen the Father." Impassiveness and insensibility are not attributes of divine rest. "How shall I give thee up," is the language of deepest feeling. No honest man asks the heart of another whom he has not first loved. God seeks our love; but he first loved us. To man the language of the cross of Christ is,—I love you and desire your return to me. You have suspected me, and turned away from me, but I love you still and am ready to receive you again. I hate and loathe your sinfulness. It fills my soul with grief and sorrow. It deprives me of your love, and separates you from me. Why will you die? Return unto me, and I will receive you.

Also, our Father, the ever blessed God, in this, as in all things else, is one with Jesus. This desire of holy love is the central truth of all divine revelations made to mankind the all-pervading power of the Sun of righteousness. If we walk in this light, as he is in it, we have fellowship one with the other, and the blood of Jesus Christ his son cleanseth us from all sin. It is the light of life; the radiant glory of the living God. It reveals riches of grace in the forgiveness of iniquity, transgression and sin. Like the rain upon the parched ground, it comes upon the soul and converts the stony heart into a garden of the Lord, adorned with many a beautiful and fragrant flower, and yielding the peaceable fruits of righteousness and holiness. Where all was previously dark, dreary and dismal, it paints images of heavenly beauty in colors of faith, love, and holy obedience on which even the eye of the holy One can look with complacency and joy. In this light, the sinful heart, until

now the willing receptacle of all hateful and unclean thoughts and imaginations, sees them in their true character, and enters into exterminating conflict with them all. It shines upon the dead, and they live; upon the living, and they rejoice with joy unspeakable and full of glory. And " He rests in his love."

In one word, the terms of salvation are, " Look and be saved," saved from sin in every form and aspect of it. The light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ, who is the image of God, shining into the heart, is its salvation. Nothing, nothing in God, nothing in man, nothing in truth and righteousness, nothing in heaven, nothing on earth, nothing in hell, can deprive the believer's heart of its bliss, into which the love of God, like a stream of living blood, flows as he fixes his gaze on Jesus, the crucified Redeemer.

But what provision, it may be asked, is here made for the santification of the believer? May he not now think lightly of sin? What does that mean? Sin is distrust of God, disbelief of his love, the rejection of his righteousness; and the objection supposes that the fullest and brightest revelation of God's righteousness and love, when seen and believed, may lead the believer to make light of ingratitude, unbelief and disobedience! The death of Jesus speaks of love, free, suffering, forgiving love; but it speaks of more than love. It discloses with terrible vehemence the burden of our sin on the loving heart of God; " that we may know him and the power of " his resurrection, and the fellowship of his sufferings, being made " conformable to his death." If it fail to win back the alienated heart to God and holiness, the sinner is lost, and in danger of " eternal sin."

The question now recurs, has all been done that may be done to make Christ known to the people of India? What hinders the spread of the Gospel? May not the answer to this question be, *we have not furnished evidence of its truth?* Salvation, holiness to the Lord, consecration to Christ, walking in the light, overcoming the world, these would be testimony worth more than cart-loads of books on the Evidences of Christianity; and until the churches furnish it, all schemes for the advancement of Missions and the spread of knowledge, will, it is to be feared, be like water poured upon the flinty rock. Why not furnish the evidence required? Are we less able to be holy, than the blind man was to look up at the bidding of the Lord Jesus? We believe in Christ for the forgiveness of sin; why not also for power to do all that he commands us to do? Is he less able or less willing to put forth his power in the one case than in the other? When we all know Christ better, and can trust him fully, we shall hear less of the failure of Missions.

Art. VII.—BENGALI CHRISTIANS.

By Rev. Lal Behari Day, Chinsurah, Calcutta.

IN the last number of this *Review* there appeared an article with the heading "Native Christians in Bengal," written by "One of Themselves." As that article gives a totally erroneous view of the state of native Christian society in Bengal, and as it is calculated to produce an impression on the public mind unfavorable to Bengali Christians in general, I feel it my duty as a Bengali Christian and as a Bengali Christian minister, to examine the statements contained in it, and, if possible, to vindicate my brethren. It is somewhat singular that a Bengali Christian, of all persons in the world, should have voluntarily imposed upon himself the ungrateful task of traducing the character of his own brethren, especially as the office of such a self-constituted censor is universally denounced in the well-known proverb, "It is an ill bird that fouls "its own nest." I can well understand that a Christian man, bent upon improving the community to which he belonged, might think it his duty to expose some of the defects of that community; but then, in such a case, he would, in the first place, try and wash his dirty linen at home and not parade it before the public; but if he deemed it necessary to make a public exposure, he would not only go through the ungracious task with a spirit filled with sorrow, but, conscious of the uprightness of his motives, would regard it a point of honor to appear *in propria persona* without fear. But the writer before us—and I have not the remotest idea as to who he is—makes statements damaging to the character of his brethren without the slightest sadness of spirit, and has not the courage to put his name down to the bill of indictment which he prefers against them. Had he put his signature, we should have known who he was, what position he held in native Christian society, and what opportunities he had of examining those matters on which he pronounces opinions so confidently. But he conceals himself under the mask of anonymity, and, as a Bengali proverb has it, throws stones in the dark, himself being invisible. But leaving the man, let me attend to the matter.

I think it, however, necessary, before entering into the discussion, to state, though in doing so I may be speaking "like a fool" after the manner of the Apostle Paul, that I was, after sincere conviction, admitted into the Christian Church by the holy rite of baptism nearly a third part of a century ago; that I have been all along associated with those Bengali Christians whom the writer of the article referred to calls "educated and high-caste converts;" that I have been connected with a Mission which, in Bengal at least,

if not in all India, has the largest number of English-speaking converts; that for a great many years I had the superintendence, under Drs. Duff and Mackay, of the converts living on the Mission premises; that I was for seven years the elected minister of a native Christian congregation consisting chiefly, though not exclusively, of educated converts; and that though at present I am not connected with any mission, I associate with Bengali Christians of all ranks and of all denominations. I thus "speak foolishly" to show that, as my experience of educated converts has extended over a period of upwards of thirty years, I must know something about them, and have therefore some right to offer an opinion on the subject broached in the article under review.

The writer begins his article with the statement that, owing to two different methods to which missionaries have recourse in propagating Christianity in this country, namely, preaching in the vernacular and Christian education imparted in schools and colleges, there have arisen in Bengal "*two distinct classes of native* "*Christians.*" The italics are not mine; they are the writer's[1]; and by italicizing those words the writer means to say, I suppose, that of all countries in the world, Bengal only labors under the infelicity of possessing "two distinct classes" of Christians, the educated and the uneducated. But are not these two distinct classes to be found in every Christian country in the world,—in England, in Scotland, in Germany, in the United States of America? The mass of the Christians of every Christian country are uneducated, though they may be able to read and write their mother tongue; while the number of those who have received a truly liberal education is small. Does the writer mean that the two classes of Christians, of whom he speaks, are in Bengal "distinct" in a peculiar sense? Again, the writer speaks of "high-caste converts" and "low-caste converts." Does he mean to insinuate that distinctions of caste are observed by Bengali Christians, and that Brahman converts do not associate with Sudra converts? Do the two classes of converts not meet in the same places of worship on Sundays? Do they not sit at the same table, or kneel at the same altar, when partaking of the Lord's Supper? If no such distinctions exist, in what sense, then, are the two classes "distinct?" The writer explains himself thus:—

"The feelings existing between these two classes are so unpleasant and antagonistic to the Gospel spirit that no benefit, temporal or spiritual, has as yet been conferred on the one by the other. The educated look upon the uneducated with disrespect and indifference. Many of the English-speaking people seem to consider it as beneath their dignity to speak to those that do not understand English. Some of the high caste converts treat the low-caste ones in so disgraceful a manner that the glorious doctrine of brotherhood is

[1] The italics complained of merely serve to indicate the first division of the subject, corresponding thus to similar italicized words at the beginning of each of the following paragraphs. Mr. Day labors under misapprehension in assigning to them the significance he does.—*Ed. I. E. R*

entirely overlooked. Persons recognized and treated as friends in private are not so regarded in public by some Christians, for fear of being regarded as associates of low-caste converts or illiterate Christians. To justify their conduct, they point out the immoral character of some of the low-caste converts, when, at the same time, they treat the low morals of those of their own class with Christ-like charity."

The above picture is so unfaithful, so untrue, so wholly imaginary, that but for the words at the top of the article—"By One of "Themselves"—I should never have thought that it had been drawn by a Bengali Christian. It might have been drawn by the man in the moon, only the man in the moon would not have been censorious. It is not a correct representation of Bengali Christians; it is a miserable caricature of them. During the last thirty-two years I have associated with Bengali Christians of all ranks and denominations, Churchmen and Dissenters, rich and poor, high and low, in elegant edifices as well as in lowly cottages, and I declare as the result of my experience, which is as varied and extensive as that of any Bengali Christian living,—I "speak foolishly" after the Pauline manner—I say, I declare as the result of my experience, that there is not a particle of truth in the above representations. There may possibly be an individual here and an individual there who may be liable to the charges brought forward by the writer, though I myself do not know of any such case—and I am personally acquainted with at least nineteen-twentieths of the educated converts,—but taking those converts as a class, the charges are ludicrously false. Scores of European missionaries have, at different times, told me that, whatever faults Bengali Christians may have, they have one redeeming virtue, and that is, that they show great love to one another, and that, though belonging to different denominations as Christians, they repudiate all distinctions and freely mix with one another as brethren in Christ. And any one who has mixed with Bengali Christians must admit that this impression of the missionaries is quite correct. Instead, however, of making general statements, I will mention some facts which prove, beyond the shadow of a doubt, that there is perfect good feeling and cordiality between the Bengali Christians who know English and those who do not.

The anonymous writer under review says that "no benefit, temporal or spiritual, has been as yet conferred by the educated "Christians on the uneducated." Did the writer never hear of the "Native Christian Temporal Aid Society," got up purposely by a few Bengali Christians, under the leadership of an educated convert of the Free Church Mission, with a view to render pecuniary assistance to their uneducated and indigent brethren of all denominations? Did not that Society pursue its beneficent course for years,—giving little monthly pensions to poor Bengali Christians who, on account of old age or bodily defect, were incapable of work; relieving those that were in debt; providing orphans and widows with winter clothes; and endeavoring, as its limited income allowed,

to give pecuniary help to those who were in want? And was not the Society abolished only because it was no longer needed,—the different churches and missions taking charge of their own poor? Again, has the writer never heard of the existence of the "Relief "Fund," established under the auspices of another energetic and influential Free Church convert, which is at present carrying on its mission of mercy, and affording substantial help to Christians, whether educated or uneducated, in seasons of distress?

As regards the conferring of "spiritual benefit" by the educated on the uneducated Bengali Christians, I should like to ask the writer to tell me who the pastors of the different Bengali churches are. The Rev. P. M. Rudra of Trinity Church in Amherst Street, in connection with the Church Missionary Society; the Rev. B. C. Chakranarti of the native Church connected with the Established Church of Scotland in Baitakhana; the Rev. G. D. Maitra of the Free Church, Cornwallis Square; the Rev. S. K. Ghose of the Congregational Church at Bhowanipore—have not all these pastors been drawn from the class of educated converts? Besides ministerings in holy things on Sundays, do they not, with the help of other converts of the educated class, get up weekly prayer-meetings, evangelistic services, revival meetings, and the like? And is it not a simple fact that if there is any spirituality among Bengali Christians in Calcutta, it is to be traced under God to the prayers and labors of the European missionaries and the educated converts?

That there are "unpleasant and antagonistic" feelings between the educated and the uneducated Bengali Christians, that there is no social intercourse between them, that the educated treat the uneducated with disrespect and contempt—all this is a figment of the writer's own imagination. The following facts show that there is not only no antagonism between the two classes, but that there is a great deal of good feeling and cordiality between them.

In the first place, intermarriages take place between the educated and the uneducated classes. I can mention the names of scores of educated converts who have married the daughters of men who do not know English. Is this a proof of the contempt of the educated for the uneducated Bengali Christians? Does this fact show that there is no social intercourse between the two classes?

In the second place, at periodical social meetings, the two classes come together. In connection with the Congregational Church at Bhowanipore there have been held for some time past not exactly tea-meetings—for tea was not drunk there—but social re-unions, at which both educated and uneducated Bengali Christians, and sometimes European missionaries, sat side by side, chatted familiarly with one another, and ate sweet-meats together. About forty or fifty people usually attend these re-unions, and the uneducated class constitute about half the number.

In the third place, there were held some time ago, both in

Bhowanipore and in the south of Calcutta, great annual social gatherings, which were called *Love-feasts*, somewhat like the *agapai* of the primitive Christians. At these joyful meetings, which were attended by between 400 and 500 Bengali Christians of all denominations,—Churchmen, Kirk-men, Free Kirk-men, Congregationalists, Baptists, Methodists,—not only were prayers offered, hymns sung and addresses delivered, but cart loads of sweetmeats were consumed, hillocks of rice were demolished, shoals of fish were eaten, and tanks of curds—an invariable accompaniment of an orthodox Bengali dinner—were drunk up. And of these 400 or 500 Bengali Christians, I should say more than half belonged to the uneducated class. Does this fact show that the educated convert despises the uneducated?

In the fourth place, at marriage festivities, both educated and uneducated Bengali Christians mix promiscuously and enjoy themselves. Only a few weeks ago, I had the pleasure of witnessing one of these celebrations at Mahanad, the rural mission of the Free Church of Scotland, on the occasion of the marriage of the eldest daughter of the missionary of that station, the Rev. Jagadiswar Bhattacharjya. There must have been present at least one hundred Bengali Christians of various denominations, both educated and uneducated; and there were European Free Kirk missionaries too. As I had lately read the article under animadversion—indeed, I had in my hands at Mahanad my copy of the *Indian Evangelical Review*—I could not help noticing the complete refutation which the gay and lively scene then being enacted before me gave to its statements. I there found educated and uneducated Bengali Christians,—and the uneducated were about half the number—amusing themselves without let or hindrance, cracking jokes with one another, sitting at the same table and discussing sundry sorts of Bengali delicacies, eating the marriage cake, and uncorking bottles of lemonade. I was sorry I did not stay out the whole time, as I had to come away shortly after the marriage knot had been tied and pronounced indissoluble by the officiating clergyman; for if I had stayed I should have witnessed a yet livelier scene. I should have seen at night the whole one hundred Christians,—men, women, and children, sitting cross-legged on a huge carpet spread on the grass, with a parti-colored canopy overhead, from which were "pendent many a row of starry lamps and blazing cressets," which were fed not, indeed, with either "naphtha or asphaltus," but with gross cocoanut-oil or still grosser castor-oil, but which nevertheless "yielded light as from a sky." I should have seen these one hundred Bengali Christians, educated and uneducated, sitting together promiscuously, and eating rice, and *dal*, and fish, and fowl-curry, and curds, and sweet-meats, amid merry jests and peals of ringing laughter. And lastly, I should have seen Mr. and Mrs. Bhattacharjya, like Abraham and Sarah, with their intelligent

sons, standing with dishes in their hands, distributing the eatables, and pressing their guests, whether educated or uneducated, to eat to their hearts' content. I do not know whether the writer of the article under review was present at the scene or not, for I am not acquainted with his personal identity; but if he were, he must have returned home after having witnessed an ocular refutation of his statements in the *Review*.

In the fifth place, it is a custom with all Bengali Christians, whether educated or uneducated, to ask to dinner any person who may be coming into the house at the time. In this way educated Bengali Christians often have at their table not only uneducated men, but men in the humblest stations in life. A case of this sort happened some time ago at this very town—I mean Chinsurah. A Bengali Christian of the Church Missionary Society, living in the neighborhood of Calcutta, who was not only uneducated, but who earned his livelihood by pursuing the humble calling of a coolie at a railway station, happened to come to Chinsurah on business, and fell in the way of my friend Babu Kedar Nath De, Head Master of the Chinsurah Free Church Institution. As it was dinner time, my friend, the Head Master, felt no hesitation in asking Rama Mute, that is, Ram the coolie, as he is generally called, to give him the pleasure of his company. Ram, of course, accepted the invitation with pleasure; and the Christian coolie accordingly sat beside my friend, his wife and children, and did justice to whatever was set before him.

I deem it unnecessary to bring forward other facts; those that I have adduced are sufficient to show that educated Bengali Christians do not treat the uneducated with contempt, and that, on the contrary, there is great cordiality between the two classes.

But the anonymous writer advances other charges against educated Bengali Christians. "Among the educated and high-"caste converts," says he, "the desire for superiority and reputa-"tion has, we fear, become too powerful,"—I suppose he means to say *very* powerful. Now, what on earth am I to make of this charge? He does not support the charge by any proof. Suppose I were to say—"that is not true"—what has the writer to say to it? It is childish to make bold statements unsupported by any facts. But "desire for superiority" in what? "Desire for reputa-"tion" in what? When the writer explains what he means, and attempts to substantiate his statements by proofs, it will be time enough to attend to them. Meanwhile one cannot help suspecting that the writer is some disappointed person who tried his best to get "superiority and reputation"—whatever those things may mean—and having failed in his object, now turns round and reproaches those brethren who, without seeking it, have obtained some "reputation"—not unlike the paddy-bird in the *Hitopadesa*, who, being unable on account of old age and debility to catch fish

any longer, proclaims to the finny inmates of all the tanks and pools in the neighborhood that he has turned "religious," and will no longer swallow fish. Desire for superiority or reputation is an affection of the mind, of the character of which no one except God and the man himself can be cognizant. We can judge only of overt acts, to which we are bound by the law of Christian charity to give a favorable construction, unless prevented by overpowering reasons. The anonymous accuser of his brethren would do well to ponder the words of our blessed Saviour—"Judge not that ye be "not judged."

Of a piece with the above is the charge that Bengali Christians are avaricious. There is of course here as elsewhere the usual boldness of statement, and proofs are conspicuous only by their absence. But the charge, as the writer puts it, is to me hopelessly unintelligible. He says,—"With the increase of their families their wants "are also increased. This circumstance has forced many to make "vigorous attempts for acquiring wealth, but the struggle for its "acquisition is gradually assuming such a fearful aspect that it may "in time become the best instrument in the hand of Satan to "destroy their spiritual life. However, the pecuniary position of "the native Christians is not so bad as it was thirty years ago." Or, in other words, the struggle for riches among Bengali Christians is so great that they have not become absolute beggars!

There is next a fling at our wealthy men. "The number of "wealthy men," says the writer, "is indeed very small, and with "rare exceptions they have as yet done but little for the good of "the native Christian community or the advancement of Christ's "kingdom in this country." Who are the wealthy men of the Bengali Christian community? I do not know of any. There is only one man among us who may be called wealthy through courtesy, and that is my friend Mr. G. M. Tagore, son of the late Prasanna Kumar Tagore, C. S. I. But he is wealthy *in posse*, not *in esse*; and in the meantime he is eaten up with law-cases. If he gets his father's estate, he will be one of the richest men in Calcutta, and will also, I have not the slightest doubt, make good use of his riches.

Then follows a sneer at the "Bengal Christian Association." "We have," says he, "an association called the 'Bengal Christian "'Association,' but the anticipations indulged at its formation have "not as yet been realized." I am only nominally connected with the Bengal Christian Association, having attended only one of its meetings, and that merely to deliver a lecture. But I have not heard that it is a failure. I hear that it is accomplishing in a quiet way the objects for which it was set up. The writer does not tell us what the nature was of the "anticipations" in which he indulged. Did he expect the Bengal Christian Association to set the Hoogly on fire?

There is only one point more on which I should like to make a

remark or two, and that is the relation of Bengali ministers to European missionaries. The following is the writer's deliverance on the subject :—

"It is a pity that those who aro engaged on the side of Christ in the conquest of Bengal are not all of one mind. Unfortunately there exists, as has been said before, an ill-feeling between the native and European missionaries. The difference of pay which obtains among them is considered by some as the cause of it. It would certainly be wrong on the part of the home missionaries to demand an equality of pay with foreign missionaries, even if the former were equal in talents to tho latter. Whatever may be the cause of it, the truth is, that thoso of one party shun the company of the other, if they conveniently can, and keep their minds unknown to the other. As long as things remain in this state the cause of Christ will undoubtedly suffer in this country."

After reading the above sentences, I asked myself, is it possible this article has been written by a Bengali Christian ? I turned to the beginning of the article, wiped my spectacles with my handkerchief, and rubbed my eyes, thinking I might possibly have misread the title ; but, no ; there stood in legible small capitals, "By One of "Themselves." When I found there was no mistake as to the authorship of the article, I said to myself, "Well, if this is a Bengali "Christian he knows no more of Bengali Christians than a "native of Timbuctoo." The writer seems, at any rate, to have a long nose for every thing disagreeable and nasty. He discovers ill-feeling between educated and uneducated Bengali Christians, and ill-feeling, too, between Bengali ministers and European missionaries. In the exuberance of his charity, he accuses his brethren of hankering after "superiority and reputation," after filthy lucre. He finds that the wealthy Bengali Christians are not making a proper use of their riches, and votes the Bengal Christian Association a failure. He traverses the whole land from Dan to Beersheba, and exclaims—"All is barren." I shrewdly suspect, however, that something must be the matter with the man himself. Is he under the influence of the jaundice of uncharitableness ?

I emphatically deny that the state of feeling between European missionaries and Bengali ministers is such as is represented in the above extract. It is a pure fabrication of the writer. It must be a dreadful thing, indeed, if European missionaries shun the company of Bengali ministers, and Bengali ministers shun the company of European missionaries, and "keep their minds unknown to each "other." European missionaries and Bengali ministers meeting one another in prayer-meetings, in social gatherings, in Presbyteries, and yet the one class cherishing "ill-feeling" against the other—what an awful state of things ! Surely, both European missionaries and Bengali ministers must be hypocrites, cheats, humbugs ! For the relief of the readers of the *Indian Evangelical Review* I may state that there is not an iota of truth in the above representation. There is as much cordiality between the two classes of missionaries

as can reasonably be expected to obtain between men of two entirely different nationalities, of different social habits, of different degrees of civilization, of different stations in society, of different training and education. I am acquainted with nearly all the Bengali ministers, and with most of the European missionaries, and I have not had any experience of the ill-feeling which is said to exist between the two classes. A few weeks ago the brethren of the Bhowanipore Church did me the honor to ask me to preside at their annual congregational meeting, at which one of the speakers, the Rev. Mr. Payne, of the London Missionary Society, having in the course of his speech alluded to the supposed ill-feeling existing between European missionaries and Bengali Christians—of which ill-feeling, however, he for himself said he was not conscious—I thought it my duty to proclaim in the face of the assembly, consisting of upwards of 250 Bengali Christians, that there was not the slightest ill-feeling between them. I also said that I looked upon the missionaries as the greatest benefactors of the country, and that the older I was growing the greater respect, veneration and affection I was having for them. And I further added that I was sure those were precisely the sentiments of all well-educated Bengali Christians.

Of this ill-feeling, which, as we have just seen, is non-existent, the writer of the article under examination assigns a cause. "The "difference of pay," he says, "which obtains among them is con- "sidered by some as the cause of it." But the European missionaries, so far as I know, do not fix the salaries of the Bengali ministers. The salaries are fixed by the committees or boards of the different societies at home—at least such is the case with those missions with the internal economy of which I am best acquainted. Such being the case, I do not see why Bengali ministers should be ill-disposed towards men who have done them no harm. The writer proceeds—"It would certainly be wrong on the part of the "home missionaries to demand an equality of pay with foreign "missionaries." Sir Oracle does not condescend to reason, and has a sovereign contempt for proofs of every sort. He deals only in bold assertions unsupported by any arguments. It is well known to most educated Bengali Christians, that I have always contended for placing well-educated Bengali ministers on a footing of equality, in every respect, with the European missionaries. People may talk as they please, but it is a simple fact that, unless native ministers are well paid, all the talent in the native Christian community will be diverted to other directions than to the Church, and the native ministry will be a veritable cave of Adullam in which, like David's congregation, all the halt, the lame, the blind and those that are in debt, will seek refuge. Some pious people, on reading this statement, will probably raise their hands in holy horror, and exclaim—"What carnality! what worldliness!" But

such men, notwithstanding their piety, are deplorably ignorant of human nature, aye, of regenerated human nature too. A well-educated and talented Bengali Christian reasons thus:—"I see that if "I take to the ministry I shall not have enough upon which to "live decently; I shall be always filled with anxiety about ways "and means, as I see a great many of the Bengali ministers are. "I shall in consequence be half-hearted in God's service; the iron "will enter into my soul, and I shall be miserable and wretched; "my mind too will be starved for want of books and the current "literature of the day, as I shall not have means to purchase them. "I shall not have means to give my children a liberal education; "after my death my children will probably become paupers, and "my poor wife utterly destitute. It is all very well to talk of "trusting in Providence, but to my mind it does not look like trusting "but *tempting* Providence. I will take to some honorable calling, "—the Indian civil service, or the bar, or medicine, and then "endeavor with help from on high, to do as much as I can "for my God and my Saviour." It is only the well-fed, the well-dressed, the well-oiled, the well-scented Christian that will discover a particle of carnality in the above reasoning of the supposed talented Bengali Christian.

Let me not be misunderstood. I do not say that all native ministers should be placed on a footing of equality with European missionaries. There are native ministers and native missionaries. The pastors of village churches need not be men of good education. They need not learn English at all. Living in the villages, and surrounded by the cultivators of the soil, they need not get salaries higher than, say, twenty or twenty-five rupees a month. And most pastors of ordinary congregations in cities too need not be men of superior education; and their salaries need not exceed one hundred rupees a month. But, surely, we require men of a higher stamp, men of liberal and high education, men of talents, men of culture, men who will be able to cope with the lettered infidelity of their educated countrymen, men of equal education with the European missionaries, men thoroughly acquainted with the current literature of the day and with modern speculation, men who will command the respect of Hindus and Muhammadans and exert a healthy and holy influence on them. Such men, I submit, ought to be placed on a footing of equality, in every respect, with the European missionaries. The wants of such men cannot possibly be less than those of European missionaries. The home committees and boards are, in my humble opinion, carrying on a suicidal policy in withholding encouragement from such men, and virtually preventing them from laboring in the Lord's vineyard. All the talent is drafted away to the secular professions, and none will be left to serve the altar except the halt, the lame and the blind.

But though I hold the opinion, and always held it, that highly

educated native ministers should be placed on a footing of perfect equality with the European missionaries, I do not entertain and never entertained, any ill-feeling against the latter. I honor all of them for the sake of their holy office, and I respect and love those of them with whom I am intimately acquainted. I had, in former years, many a tough argument with the Rev. Dr. Duff on the subject, but I can sincerely and honestly say that difference of opinion never lessened my admiration, reverence and affection for him. I have always admired him—and do admire him now more than any living man—for his boundless energy in the service of his Master, for his noble disinterestedness, for his entire and absolute self-consecration to the Lord's work, and for his sublime enthusiasm in the cause of missions—qualities for which I have always regarded him as the Prince of Indian missionaries.

Art. VIII.—THE NAME OF OUR LORD IN HINDI AND URDU.

SOME fifteen or twenty years ago, there was in the missionary periodicals of Calcutta and the North-West a protracted and spirited controversy concerning the form which the name and title of our Lord Jesus Christ should assume in the languages of North India. This controversy it is not our purpose to renew in the pages of the *Indian Evangelical Review*. Probably to our readers, except in North India, the subject will be of little interest. But in reply to a circular issued a few months ago by the North India Tract Society, a number of letters were received which seem worthy of a wider circulation. Some of these we shall lay before our readers, as not unworthy a place in this *Review*, and as the best means of presenting the general subject more fully to missionaries and others who are using the Urdu and Hindi languages.

In the month of August last the matter was brought before the Committee of the North India Bible and Tract Societies, and at their request the Rev. Mr. Davis was requested to prepare a letter upon it, which should be circulated among missionaries and others with a request that they would favor the Committee with their own views and the reasons for these. Together with the letter of Mr. Davis, there was also circulated a monograph by the late Rev. J. Lowenthal of Peshawar, presenting in an able and scholarly way the old arguments for the form *Isa Masih*, but too long for insertion here.

The letter of Mr. Davis, and the circular of the Secretary of the North India Tract Society, are as follows :—

"DEAR MR. WYNKOOP,

" During the nine years in which I had the privilege of taking, I trust, a part in the Lord's work as Secretary of the North India Tract Society, I paid particular attention to the

spelling of our blessed Lord's beloved name in the Urdu publications that were brought out under the auspices of the Society, and am not aware that the uniformity was broken in any of those works which we ourselves printed during that period. But as there seems to be a disposition in some quarters now to write that name *Isa* instead of the approved *Yasu* or *Yisu*, I am thankful that the Committee desires to take steps towards ascertaining the general sense of all, at least of our most experienced brethren, and to print accordingly, and have great pleasure in contributing what I can towards the settlement of this important question.

" It surely must give a great handle to those who seek occasion of objecting against us to put it in their power to say that we have never been able yet to decide what is the true method of spelling our blessed Lord's name in Urdu. They find at the head of our Urdu Arabic Testament مسيح كي انجيل خداوند يسوع, at that of the Roman Urdu, *Yisu Masih ka naya Ahd nama* ; but on opening several of our other publications, fail to meet with that name, but in its place find *Isā Masih* continually spoken of. This state of things must surely be deplored by all of us, and the question arises, what means have we for deciding which we ought to prefer. Authority seems to be somewhat divided ; on the one hand, our translators, some of the most competent men for leading our opinions in the matter, after careful consideration of the subject, have all decided that *Yisu* was the right method, while our venerable and learned brother Smith of Banaras, on superintending the publication of the last edition of the English prayer book, was led to adopt the slight variation *Yasu*, which, though appearing in a Roman Urdu book, would of course not be distinguishable in Urdu Arabic from *Yisu*, where, as usual, the vowels are only printed on a very few doubtful words. Of late, I have been sorry to observe in the books proceeding from one particular press, a fourth form *Yesu* has been introduced. So that if we include the Baptist Hindu Testament, we have now no less than five different ways of representing that honored and beloved name, viz., *Yisu.*, *Yesu*, *Yasu*, *Yīsu*, and *Isa*. The only approach to authority on the side of the last is that of a paper by the late Mr. Lowenthal, but though some have thought his reasons convincing, I think we should remember that, though we have not the reasons of our translators on paper, example is better than precept. and that had they thought it necessary to confirm their usage by argument, we should have found that argument still more convincing on the other side, and should not therefore lightly set aside the conclusion at which they have arrived, though unsupported by an overt statement. But in order ourselves to come to a conclusion on the subject, what guides have we for deciding which is the right method? In answer to this I would first observe that it appears to me that the Arabic to which some might be induced to look for help, ought entirely to be set aside, on the ground that in the Coran and other Arabic writers we find names murdered in a manner only perhaps second to that in which the natives of this country murder ours, or we the names of the ancient towns of India.

" For instance, if we wished to learn from the Arabic the way to spell Judea, we should be left in doubt between two ways—يهود and يهوذ ; *torāh* is turned into *tawret*, while Korāh is changed to Kārun, Goliath into Jalut, Enoch is corrupted into Edris. Terah, the father of Abraham, becomes Azer, Ezra is altered into Ozair, Yuhanna becomes Yahiya. Should we spell Potiphar, Kitfir, because they do ! or Saul, Talut ! ! Should we change Reuben into Rubil, because it is spelt so in Arabic ? thereby actually losing the meaning of half the word ?

" Many more Arabic pronunciations of names might be produced, but I think these are quite enough to show that Arabic is a broken reed on which to lean for deciding any thing as to the proper rendering of a name that was not originally one of that language ; and that we must try for other help if we desire to come to any thing like an accurate conclusion. In short, we are driven back to the original Greek and Hebrew with the help of the usage of Western languages as Eastern help fails us.

" ' Si forta necesse est
Indiciis monstrare novis abdita rerum,
Fingere cinctutis non exaudita Cethegis,
Continget, dabiturque licentia sumpta pudenter

Et nova fictaque nuper habebunt verba fidem, si
Græco fonte cadant parce detorta.'

"It is well known that *Jesus* is the Greek form of the word for the Hebrew Joshua throughout the Septuagint, and in the only two places where that name is found in the New Testament. Whence we see that our Lord's name and that of Joshua are in Hebrew identical, and if any difference is admitted in rendering the names in another language, it would only be for the sake of distinction, not from the etymology of the words.

"The Hebrew spelling of Joshua, viz., יְהוֹשֻׁעַ (Salvation from God) is contracted in Neh. viii. 17 to יֵשׁוּעַ Yeshua, and it is evident that the Greek name Ἰησους used by the translators of the Septuagint, a good while after Nehemiah's time, was taken not from the first but the second of those forms of the name. While, therefore, we may well feel shy of the usual Arabic *misrepresentation* of names, we have here a great help to put into *correct* Arabic, and therefore Hindustani, the name we love. Indeed, it is just يسوع, neither more nor less, except the variation of *sh* to *s*, in which, I think, we may fairly follow the Greek and Western Christianity. Further, that the first syllable should begin with يَ not عِي seems clear from a comparison of the

Greek.	Arabic.
Ιεροσολυμα	Yarushalem
Ιωαννης	Yuhanna
	and even the corrupted Yaheiya
Joppa	Yaffa
Juda	Yahuda
Jasper	Yasham

and should surely be preferred on a higher ground, viz., that *Ya*, the name Jehovah, is preserved, while it is entirely lost in the corrupted *Ees* or *Is*, and how any one with any knowledge of Hebrew could prefer the unmeaning اِی to the original ע = ع seems to me astonishing. As to the Roman form Yesu, I would only observe that this would require an inadmissible and unmeaning reduplication of the يي in Arabic, for which I can see no reason, so that unless we see it proved that the Arabic form should be ييسوع, the Roman Yesu would be only an incorrect rendering of يسوع. It may be added that the Hebrew י being a consonantal form would be correctly rendered in Urdu by ي while Tzere being a simple vowel would become Zer or Zabar.

"Once more the form *Isā Masih* having been for ages used as a perverted term of abuse in reference to our blessed Saviour by the Muhammadans, this, *ceteris paribus* would have some weight with me in inclining to the other mode of spelling. It was suggested at our meeting by Mr. D. Mohun that the Hindu *Isa* is a well known name of Mahadeo, and that its use in the Testament and Christian books would convey a wrong impression to a bred and born Hindu. I think this is a consideration which would naturally lead us to adopt a different form, if on other grounds at least equally admissible. Finally, in regard to the question, if *Yasu* is the correct mode in Urdu, what should be the corresponding Hindi? as we have no philological grounds that I am aware of for deciding how it ought be spelt in a language in no way connected with the Hebrew, but constituting a member of the Indo-Germanic languages; were Hindi alone the subject under consideration, I might be inclined to ask why it should not simply follow the Greek and Latin as is done in other languages of the same family and be expressed जीसीस्, but as it stands locally in such intimate connection with Urdu akin to the Arabic and

so to the Hebrew, I for one think that the form used in our Hindu Testament यसू should be retained in all our publications as nearest to the Urdu.

"I remain,
"Yours faithfully,
"B. DAVIS,
"*Acting Secretary of the*
"*N. I. Bible Society,*
"Allahabad."

"*August* 11*th*, 1874."

"NORTH INDIA TRACT SOCIETY.
"ALLAHABAD, *October*, 1*st* 1874.

"DEAR SIR,

"At the last meeting of the Committee of our Society, attention was called to the considerable diversity at present existing in the name of our Lord and Saviour, as printed in different Urdú and Hindí books in North India. With a view to secure uniformity, if possible, I was directed, in connection with the Acting Secretary of the North India Bible Society, to prepare a letter asking the opinion of our Missionary brethren, and other promoters of Christian Vernacular Literature upon this question. You will find accompanying this the letter of Mr. Davis, and also a Monograph by the late Mr. Lowenthal

"The letter of Mr. Davis states fully the various forms that have been used in Urdú. I may add that in Hindi

ईसा मसीह	...	...	is used by the Rev. Mr. Bowley, and the Benares Prayer Book,
यसू मसीह	...	...	by the Rev. Mr. Ullmann,
यसू ख्रिष्ट	...	...	by the Rev. Mr. French,
यीशु ख्रीष्ट	...	...	in the Sk. Bible of Dr. Yates&Wenger, and by the Rev. Mr. Parsons,
ईशू ख्रिष्ट	...	...	by Mr. John Christian.

"The Committee of the Tract Society will be much obliged if you will kindly inform them through me which methods of spelling appear to you most appropriate, in the Roman-Urdú, Persian and Devanagari characters

"I remain, Sir,
"Yours faithfully,
"T. S. WYNKOOP,
"*Secretary.*"

In reply to this circular more than twenty letters were received, nearly all of which were from missionaries. And of these four-fifths would use, not the form يسوع but the older Muhammadan form عيسىٰ; not only in the Urdu, but in the Roman. And nearly all who prefer this form would use its equivalent in Hindi as well, ईसा मसीह. The reasons which are given are those stated briefly by the Rev. Mr. Hewlett, in the extract following:—

"I have given considerable thought to the question contained in your circular letter of October 1st, regarding the best mode of spelling the name of Jesus in Urdu and Hindi books. The form I am decidedly in favor of our using universally is *'Isá* in Roman Urdu and its equivalent in the Persian and Devanagari characters عیسیٰ and ईसा. The name Christ I would have rendered *Masíh*, with its equivalents in the Persian and Devanagari. At present I have not time to write my reasons for my preference in detail. But they may be summed up as follows: First, *'Isá Masíh* is the current name of our Lord introduced with the Urdu language by the Muhammadans. Secondly, *'Isá* is much more easily pronounced by both the Hindus and Muhammadans than any other of the forms of the same word introduced by missionaries. *Masíh* also is a good Urdu word, and is more likely to gain currency amongst other Urdu vocables in Hindi than any form of the word Christ will be. Thirdly, notwithstanding all the attempts of missionaries to make *Yisŭ*, and *Yesŭ*, and *Yashŭ* the prevalent spelling of the word, the natives, Christian and heathen, shew the most decided tendency to continue pronouncing the word as though it were spelt *'Isá*. *Masíh* seems also much more pleasing to a native ear than *Khrist* or *Khríst* or *Khrísht*. As the form and pronunciation of words are determined rather by the workings of natural laws than by artificial means, it seems to me most unphilosophical as it will be futile in us to contend for the orthography and pronunciation of a word other than what the people shew a tendency to adopt."

To the same effect write the Rev. Messrs. J. Newton, Sr., Ullmann, Reuther, Mansell, Scott, Dr. Warren, Robb, Wherry and others, all of whom would use the form *'Isá Masíh* in all writings, both Urdu and Hindi, and give up the later form *Yisu*.

In favor of the form *'Isá* rather than *Yisú*, are also the Rev. Messrs. Heining, Etherington and Hughes, and F. S. Growse, Esq., C. S. But as they would not use this form exclusively, it may be best to give their letters at greater length, as follows:—

"Benares, *6th November*, 1874.

"Dear Sir,

"The question that has been raised by the Committee of the N. I. B. Society, as to the orthography of our Lord's name in the Hindi and Urdu languages is doubtless important, but I doubt whether it is possible for any society to do much towards securing uniformity of spelling until we are in possession of versions of the Scriptures in those languages which all missionaries and their converts will be prepared to receive, as the English version has been received by English-speaking nations Such versions will regulate the usage in general literature, not only as regards the name of our Lord, but also in reference to theological terms generally. Till the time comes when the Indian Church will be blessed with such versions, societies may make suggestions or pass resolutions (as has been again and again done) with regard to the rendering of terms and the spelling of names, but still individuals and other societies will use their liberty in adopting such forms as seem best to them.

In all versions intended for Muhammadan readers I approve entirely of the form *'Isá* عیسیٰ, for I believe, whatever may have been the origin of this form of the name, that as it has been used by Muhammadan nations for centuries, and is still used by them, all attempts to change it now must be futile, and, even if practicable, are undesirable. I think Mr. Davis is mistaken in saying that Muhammadans use *'Isá* 'as 'a perverted term of abuse.' Among themselves, when speaking of him as a prophet, and with all the respect they pay to prophets, they refer to him as *Hazrat 'Isá*. I have never yet met with an intelligent Muhammadan who seemed disposed to speak abusively of the *'Isá* whom they regard as sent of God. The Jesus whom we preach to them and represent as the incarnate Son of God, they, of course, reject and even abuse; but I imagine that they would abuse him under any other name that we might adopt, and even charge us with changing the name to suit our own ends.

Mr. D. Mohun's objection, that the form *'Isá* is one of the names of Mahadeo, and therefore likely to convey a wrong impression to a Hindu's mind, is equally applicable to *Ishwar, Parameshewar*, and, indeed, to every epithet that we have adopted to represent the Divine Being. Nearly all our theological terms are of heathen origin, and

are used in Hindu writings in senses far different from those in which we employ them.

"For Hindi-speaking people, and, indeed, for all who are not Muhammadan, I approve of the form यीसु ख्रीष्ट. I have no doubt in my own mind but that in all modern Sanskritic languages this is the form that will eventually prevail.

"The name of our Lord is not the same in any two languages of Europe; it is hardly to be hoped that but one, or even two forms of it, will suffice for this land; but I believe that there are abundant grounds for thinking that *'Isá Masíh* and *Yísú Khrísht* will live as the most generally received form of the name among the Muhammadan and Hindu peoples respectively.

"I am, Sir,
"Yours sincerely,
"W. ETHERINGTON."

"In regard to the Urdú, the name, *'Isá* is written in the Qurán thus: عیسیٰ. See 3rd *Sipárah Sura al Imrán*, 45th verse, and in Anglo-Urdú it is correct to print, write and pronounce *'Isá*. Why? Simply because Muhammad was not the inventor of the Arabic language, nor did he forge the name; he spoke and wrote in the language in which he was instructed by his uncle; being of the Koraish family, no low or corrupt words were used; besides long before Muhammad existed there were in Arabia many Christian churches, also very many Jews lived there, any change in the name, not in use, would have been at once detected. Muhammad was well acquainted with the contents of the Old and New Testaments, hence in the Qurán we meet with hints only of names and actions, not in confirmation of what God revealed, but as suited to his purpose. In the Qurán we do not find any change of the name, that is: عیسیٰ for یسوع, the reasons for which have been pointed out by the writer of the pamphlet "The name 'Isá," with all which I entirely agree.

"The name truly is printed in the Arabic Testament thus: یسوع and in that of the Roman Urdú (which I have not seen) *Yasúa*; but this is no reason why یسوع should be adopted in place of عیسیٰ, and in the end it will prove useless labor. The majority of Europeans do not take sufficient pains to learn to pronounce the name یسوع correctly; the letter ع is to be pronounced as softly as possible, scarcely to be audible, and not like a broad German *á*; how badly it would sound to read *Yasúá al Masíhá* (یسوع المسیح) *may be*, that the careless pronunciation of the name یسوع by the foreigners in Arabia, centuries before Muhammad, gave rise to adopt the easier pronunciation عیسیٰ and being once established it became the law of the language; hence I vote that the name عیسیٰ *'Isá* be adopted.

"In Hindí the name should be spelt, printed and pronounced यीशु *Yisu*, why? Because in reading and speaking it comes nearest to the Urdú *'Isá*. Wisdom is required in the preacher; when he sees the majority of his hearers consists of Hindús, he will pronounce the name of our Lord यीशु ख्रिष्ट *Yísu Khrist*, this we use always in Benares, and though some Muhammadans also stand and listen, yet not one

makes the least objection. If the majority of hearers consists of Muhammadans, we use the words *'Isá Masih* and none of the Hindus object.

"During 36 years' missionary labors among Muhammadans and Hindus, I never yet heard a Hindu tauntingly telling me that your *'I'sá* is our *'isá*, that is Mahádeo, and why? Because the Hindus know full well of the deeds he is said to be guilty, (though I doubt its correctness) hence they would never commit such a blunder.—H. Heinig."

"*Memoranda on the Circular of the North India Tract Society, dated October 1st, 1874.*

"1. We cannot put aside the word *'Isá*, for it is the one name by which our Lord is known from one end of India to the other, and throughout the vast regions of Central Asia, Turkey and Africa.

"2. I think it is fortunate that Christian missionaries have used the two names (or rather forms of names) *'Isá* and *Yasu*, and have so accustomed the native mind to the two forms of rendering the original word.

"3. I have very little to do with Hindus, but I should think the word *Yasu* might always be used in works intended exclusively for Hindu readers.

"4. The word *Yasu* might always be used for devotional works for Christians as it is more euphonious than *'I'sá*, as those who have used both names in the liturgy of the Church of England will certify.

"5. In the translation of the New Testament in Urdu, Arabic, Persian, Pushto and other languages of countries inhabited by Muhammadans, should translate into the form of the word *'I'sá*.

"6. It appears most undesirable that the three forms of *Yásu*, *Yesu*, and *Yisu* should be retained, and I should be glad if we could all decide upon the one form *Yasu* for devotional works.

"7. In my Pushto tracts I have always used the word *'Isá* as they are intended for Muhammadan readers.

"8. To my mind the various ways of rendering the Hebrew words for God are quite as great a difficulty as that of translating the word Ἰησοῦς. I am engaged in translating the Old Testament into Pushto, and the decision of this question has given me much thought and trouble. Translators appear to regard *Ullah* as exclusively the God of Islamism, although it is an Arabic rendering of אֵל and אֱלֹהִים and surely much nearer the original than *Khuda* or *Rabb*, or *God*.

"T. P. HUGHES,
"*Missionary of the C. M. S.*"

"Peshawur, *Nov.* 13, 1874."

"My dear Mr. Wynkoop,

"I have been reading with very great interest the papers you were kind enough to send me regarding the spelling of our Lord's name in Hindustani. It is a very difficult question, in consequence of there being so many languages to reconcile. So far as educated Muhammadans are concerned, I think the arguments advanced in Mr. Lowenthal's able and scholarly essay are quite unanswerable, and more especially so if *'Isá* is the form used by any of the old Oriental Churches. Even those who object most strongly to it, like Mr. Davis, seem to me to be unconsciously under its influence; else why *i* for the first vowel instead of *e*? I think it a very great mistake to render Greek and Latin names according to our insular pronunciation, which is rapidly being abolished at all our large schools in favor of the continental system: and therefore none of the Hindi forms given in your letter are, in my opinion, satisfactory. As an historical fact, our first knowledge of the name Jesus is derived from the Romans; what its form was in Greek or Hebrew is simply a matter of scholarly interest; practically we have only to deal with the Latin form, and if it were simply a question of transliteration for Hindus who had no prior knowledge of the name from any other quarter, I think beyond all doubt the word should be spelt येसस. But no one has yet adopted this form, and I am not credulous enough to think that I should ever be able to induce all missionaries to agree in accept-

ing it; I therefore incline to the general use both in Urdu and Hindi of the form, *'Isá*, which it is impossible to deny is the form under which a section of the natives of Upper India first heard of the Ibn Mariam. At the same time, if it were resolved to keep the Arabic form for Urdu and the Latin for Hindi, I should not think the difference a very serious matter; for (to take my own experience) if I say a prayer in Latin I pronounce the word very differently from what I do when I say the same prayer in English, and yet the idea in my mind is precisely the same. Still no doubt as Urdu and Hindi are both colloquial languages and run so much into one another, a single form would be preferable.

"Yours sincerely,
"F. S. GROWSE."

"MATHURA, *Nov. 7th*, 1871."

We give two other letters by the Rev. W. Hooper of the C. M. S. Divinity School, Lahore, and the Rev. Nehemiah Goreh, written from a standpoint differing widely from that of most of those whose letters have been quoted above:—

"Let me, then, briefly say that I do not like, and never use, *any one* of the forms of our Lord's name which you give in Hindi in your letter. I have read very carefully Mr. Lowenthal's monograph, and the only argument in it which seems to me to have any weight is, that as we use "Isai" for "Christian," it is inconsistent to object to "Isa" for our Lord's name. To this all I can answer is, that I *never* use the word "Isai" except to those who would not understand any other designation; and this for two reasons: (1) because of this very inconsistency, for if "Isa" is no real word at all, "Isai" can have no greater reality; (2) because, following the analogy of European languages, the followers of our blessed Lord would be designated, *not* from his *individual* name, *but* from his *title* of *honor*, *Christ*. We know that the Jews called believers in our Lord, "Nazarenes;" we know that the Gentiles called them "*Christians*"; but we have no trace of a name for them formed from His individual name. In fact, I always feel (and this I might have put down as a third reason) that it is rather wanting in that reverence which we should show in every thing that concerns our blessed Saviour, to take his own individual name and form a derivation from it to be a designation for one self and others. It reminds me too painfully, of "Wesleyan," "Puseyite," "Lutheran," and such other adjectives formed from the individual names of mere men. And it is a remarkable fact, that the only instance, in Europe, in which a sect has called itself from the name "Jesus," is that one which has done more than any other body of men to dishonor that holy name which is above every name, to corrupt his Church, and hinder his kingdom. For these reasons I always, except where my hearers would not understand me, speak of Christians, in Urdu, as "Masihi;" in high Hindi as "Christiya;" in common Hindi as "Christian," lengthening the "ā." I need scarcely add that to those who do not understand anything else, I commonly say "Isa Masih."

"Isa" being then given up as the synonym for "Jesus," it remains to ask, which of the many other forms in use shall we adopt? To me the matter seems so exceeding plain, that I can only wonder that any one, who has once rid himself of the trammels of the traditionary "Isa," can possibly hesitate. For what is our object? Plainly, to approximate as nearly as we can to the form of the name by which our Lord was called among his *contemporaries*. Now we all know very well, that the original name יְהוֹשֻׁעַ which had been contracted to יֹשֻׁעַ had been still further altered after the captivity to יֵשׁוּעַ. At least we find it written so in Ezra and Nehemiah, whereas Haggai and Zechariah still keep to the second form. But there cannot be a doubt, that by degrees the form יֵשׁוּעַ came quite to supplant the older forms. I am not aware that the Greek transliteration is *ever* found with (ω) omega, whereas it occurs in innumerable instances. I mean as the name of innumerable persons, with (η) eta. Therefore I think

we may conclude thatthe form יֵשׁוּעַ was the only one used in common parlance in our Lord's time. And if so, why in all the world should we not simply reproduce this name in those languages in which its pronunciation is possible and natural? Nor will any one affirm that its pronunciation is in any degree difficult in *Urdu*. Both the "Shin" and the "'Ain" are of universal occurrence in that language, and if any difficulty still remains, it is the bringing together of two "Y's," one pronounced as "Y," the other as "e." Still, no educated persou would find any difficulty in this; and those who cannot pronounce it must do the best they can; surely we are not to spoil words for them. But the principal thing that causes me amazement in *all* the forms that I have ever seen in print, is that "Shin" is turned into "Siu." Why is this? Because the *uneducated* people of the *N. W. P.* (only) turn all their "Shins" into "Sins";—or because the *Greeks* suffered from the same weakness? And what has a defect in the speaking organs of the Greeks to do with our work here? Because the Greeks had no "sh," and consequently corrupted every "Shin" into "sigma," are *we* to do the same, and teach others likewise? We might just as well mispronounce the "Shin" in all Old Testament names, as Yoshua itself, Elisha, etc., etc. Of course those who *cannot* pronounce "Shin," *will* not; but we need not go out of our way to corrupt things for them.

"Those languages, then, which have no "ain" will simply drop it, and terminate the name with ū; those that have will keep it. I ought, however, to have earlier mentioned *one* particular, in which I think we ought intentionally to deviate from the Jewish pronunciation and allude to the Pattach under the עַ, which, as every body knows, is simply introduced, at the end of a word, after a long vowel, from a special inability which the Hebrews seem to have had for pronouncing the guttural without this help; much as Somersetshire folk cannot pronounce "fool" without inserting a short vowel between "oo" and "l," and educated people insert the same in "poor." It does not seem to me that we are at all bound to follow this Jewish weakness, any more than the Greek inability to pronounce "ain" or "Shin"; especially as the Arabs, in cognate words, feel no such difficulty, e. g., rūle, Masīh. I have now said all I have to say on the form which our Lord's individual name ought to take in Urdu and Hindi; and turn to his title of honor. But here there is no difficulty in Urdu; at least "Masih" is quite near enough to "Māshih." But in Hindi there is a great difficulty. There is of course much to be said in favor of using the same name in Hindi as in Urdu, seeing that both languages are used by the same people. Still, as other Sanskritic languages (notably Bengali and Mahrathi, both of them having such great influence on Hindi, especially on Hindi Christianity) have adopted the Greek translation which was used by *all* the *Jews* of the dispersion, and understood in fact by *every* Jew, as well as Gentile; and as, through the affinity between Sanskrit and Greek, the word "Christ" can be made to *look* like a Sanskritic word which "Masih" never can; I incline on the whole to taking the latter for Hindi also. But this being granted, which of the many adaptations of Χριστο shall we adopt? On this point I must confess, I care but very little. Whether ρι be represented by ऋ or by रि, whether στ be represented by स्त or by ष्ट, are really very insignificant matters. Of course the real sound of ρι was रि, not ऋ; and there is, I suppose, but little doubt that τ was pronounced like त, not ट. Still the rule in Sanskrit is for a स, after any vowel but अ and आ, to become ष; others again requires ट to be substituted for त. So that on the whole, I suppose ख्रिष्ट is the nearest approach, in Sanskritic languages, to Χριστο. The proper way to form the appellative from this

would of course be by the affixing of ईय; but as this could hardly ever become natural to the common people, I would prefer the Latin affix, to which they are already accustomed, thus ख्रिष्टयान् or ख्रिष्टियान्. But, as I have said, this latter is a matter of comparatively small moment with me; my earnest feelings, I may almost say my *burning jealousy*, is concerning our Lord's individual name.

" Believe me, Sir,
" Yours very truly,
" W. HOOPER."

" My Dear Sir,

" I like to use our Lord's name thus येसू ख्रिस्त. My first reason is that they are so used in the New Testament in the original tongue, and the New Testament is the book of the Christians. Others say that the name of our Lord is of the Hebrew language, and not of the Greek, and the correct pronunciation of that name, according to the Hebrew is येशू or येषु and not येसू. The स is used in the New Testament and not श or ष, simple because the Greek letters have not got them. I, however, think that let the cause of it be what it may, yet, since the New Testament is chiefly the book of Christians, we ought to adopt our Lord's name as we find it in the New Testament.

" My second reason is, that the words येसु ख्रिस्त are adopted by the whole Christian body throughout the whole world, and why should we Indians, or rather the natives of the North-West Provinces only, differ from all Christians in this respect? This consideration appears to me weighty, whether it would appear so to others or not I cannot tell.

But if any one insist that we should use येशू or येषु and not येसू I would not quarrel with him. But I do not at all approve of spelling ईसा. For that is only the Muhammadan way of spelling. And not only I, as a genuine Hindu (I mean by race, not, of course, by religion), have a natural aversion to every thing that belongs to the Musalmans, but I do not see any reason why we should go to the Musalmans to learn how we, converts to Christianity, are to spell our Lord's name.

" I do not like Mr. Ullmann's or Mr. French's way of spelling यसू, because I do not know from what word it is brought. For it appears to me that it is neither Hebrew nor Greek, neither Christian nor Muhammadan. (I take your printed paper as the authority for connecting this spelling with Mr. French).

" I prefer ये to यी, because यी would be according to the English way of pronouncing the Greek letter H, but I think the Germans are more trustworthy with regard to the pronunciation of languages than the English.

" As regards the other name of our Lord many like ख्रिष्ट. There is a reason for it. For they say that, according to the rules of Sanskrit, the " s" in that word must

change into "sh" and then the soft "t." त must necessarily change into hard "t," ट, and so it would make ख्रिष्ट. I will not quarrel with them either.

"I leave it then to others to choose between येसू ख्रिस्त and येषू ख्रिष्ट. Mr. Hooper, I think, spells ख्रिष्ट (with a long ई.)

"Yours sincerely,
"NEHEMIAH GOREH."

"P. S.—The learned Dr. Mills also writes खृष्ट. But I do not know the reason of it."

So far as revealed by the letters here reviewed in part, it is evident that although there are not wanting able and influential advocates of the form *Yisú Masíh* as now printed in the Urdu version of the Scriptures, still the prevailing feeling of missionaries in Northern India is for the older form *'Isá Masíh.* It is believed that this preference is nearly universal so far as those are concerned who chiefly use the Urdu language.

But in Hindi there is more difference of opinion. Here the Muhammedan usage has not prevailed in any considerable degree. The analogy of other Indian languages as the Bengali and Marathi, and the influence of the English language, as well as other considerations, are all in favor of a different form in Hindi.

It remains only to be said that it seemed to the Committee of the N. I. Bible and Tract Societies impossible at present to take any action which would secure uniformity, and the whole matter is left in abeyance.

T. S. W.

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